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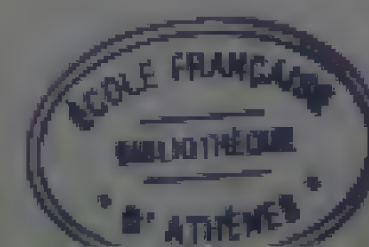
TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES 19

STUDIES IN THEOPHANES

edited by
Marek JANKOWIAK
&
Federico MONTINARO

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Paris, 3 mars 2007. R. C. - J. Joly

Gilbert Dagron nous a quittés le 4 août dernier, courageux en cette dernière épreuve comme il l'avait été tout au long de sa vie. Nous sommes en deuil de celui qui, élu au Collège de France voici quarante ans, fut pour les byzantinistes français un basileus incontesté et pour beaucoup, français et étrangers, un ami attentif et chaleureux. Les *Travaux et Mémoires* dont, succédant à Paul Lemerle, il exerça de 1975 à 2001 la direction, sont en deuil et consacreront bientôt un volume à sa mémoire et à son œuvre. Il serait vain de prétendre rendre hommage en quelques mots au grand historien qu'il fut. Une érudition sans limites, une réflexion profonde lui permirent de rendre vie au monde byzantin, à ses hommes et à ses « idées », sous les aspects les plus divers. Sa langue reflétait avec élégance la complexité de son objet, la subtilité de ses analyses, les nuances de ses conclusions. Parfois ironique à l'égard des « experts », Gilbert Dagron s'est pourtant illustré dans les champs les plus techniques de nos études, hagiographie ou iconographie, épigraphie ou diplomatique, droit ou économie notamment. Par delà ces disciplines spéciales, les maîtres-livres qui jalonnent sa longue carrière ont fait mieux connaître et mieux comprendre aux byzantinistes quelques-uns de leurs objets fondamentaux : Constantinople d'abord, de « Naissance d'une capitale » (1974) aux jeux de l'Hippodrome (2011), sans oublier « Constantinople imaginaire » (1984) ; le christianisme byzantin, dans un volume de l'Histoire du christianisme paru sous sa direction (1993), la théorie politique avec « Empereur et prêtre » (1996), la théorie esthétique avec « Décrire et peindre » (2007). À côté de ces ouvrages majeurs, dont de grandes maisons d'édition et de multiples traductions ont étendu le rayonnement, Gilbert Dagron ne perdit jamais de vue les collections du Centre de recherche qu'il dirigeait, à commencer par ces *Travaux et Mémoires* où lui-même avait fait un début retentissant. De 1968 à 2001, du rhéteur *Thémistius* au Livre des cérémonies, ses propres mémoires et articles y forment une chaîne ininterrompue, qui traverse de part en part le millénaire byzantin. Supplément aux *Travaux et Mémoires*, la série des *Monographies* qu'il crée en 1982 accueillera les ouvrages de chercheurs français et étrangers, des actes de colloque, des leçons professées au Collège de France par d'éminents invités. Enfin dans la collection des *Bilans de recherche*, dont il avait en 2006 parrainé la création et choisi le nom, Gilbert Dagron offrit en 2012, sous le beau titre d'« Idées byzantines », l'édition révisée de trente-six articles choisis. Il espérait encore voir paraître l'édition commentée du Livre des cérémonies de Constantin Porphyrogénète, dont il avait pris l'initiative et qui, parmi les travaux de ses dernières années, fut sans doute celui qui lui tenait le plus à cœur. Sa publication prochaine sera le meilleur hommage que nous puissions rendre, en témoignage d'admiration et d'attachement, au maître et à l'ami que nous avons perdu.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a vestigiis originibus celebrantur</i> , Venetis 1734-1940.
ACO, ser. ser.	<i>Acta conciliarum oecumenicorum. Series secunda</i> , ed. R. Biedinger, Berlin 1984.
ADLER-TUFFIN	<i>The Chronography of George Synkellos: a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the Creation</i> , transl. with introd. and notes by W. Adler and P. Tuffin, Oxford 2002.
ADSV	<i>Анмвчавъ дремнѣхъ ѿ дремѣхъ лѣтъ</i> , Ekaterinburg.
Agap.	<i>Kitab al-nuzun: Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Maddama) de Mervidj</i> , éd. et trad. par A. Vasiliev, Paris 1906-16 (PO 25, 26, 27, 28, 11, 12, PO 8).
Anast.	<i>Theophanis Chronographia. 2. Theophanis vita., Anastasi bibliothecari, Historiam scriptam, dissertationem de codicibus operis Theophanis indices continens</i> , rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1885 (2 nd éd., Hildesheim - New York 1980).
AnBoll	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , Bruxelles.
AnTard	<i>Antiquité tardive</i> , Turnhout.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> , Paris.
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 ^e éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée, Bruxelles 1957.
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and modern Greek studies</i> , Leeds.
BSL	<i>Byzantinoslavica: revue internationale des études byzantines</i> , Praha.
Byz.	<i>Byzantion: revue internationale des études byzantines</i> , Wetteren.
Byz. Forsch.	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen: internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik</i> , Amsterdam.
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> , Berlin.
CCSG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series Graeca</i> , Turnhout.
Cedr.	<i>Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Sylitzae ope</i> , ab I. Bekkerio suppletus et emendatus (CSHB 4), Bonnæ 1838-1839.
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae</i> .
Chron. 1234	<i>Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens</i> , I, ed. I.-B. Chabot (CSCO 81, SS 36), Parisiis 1920.
Chron. Paschale	<i>Chronicon Paschale</i> , rec. L. Dindorfius, Bonnæ 1832.
Const. VII, Three treatises	<i>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three treatises on imperial military expeditions</i> , introd., ed., transl. and commentary by J. F. Haldon, Wien 1990.
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae</i> .
CSCO	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i> , Louvain SS: Scriptores Syri.
CTb	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .

INTRODUCTION

by Marek JANKOWIAK & Federico MONTINARO

This book presents the proceedings of the conference "The *Chronicle* of Theophanes: sources, composition, transmission," organized by the editors in Paris in September 2012. The *Chronicle* attributed to Theophanes the Confessor († 817 or 818) is an annalistic compilation continuing the world chronicle of George Synkellos and spanning more than five hundred years of Byzantine history, from Diocletian's accession to the eve of the second Iconoclasm (AD 284–813). It stands as the major Greek source on Byzantium's "Dark Centuries," for which its author relied on now lost sources covering, notably, the Arab conquest, the Monothelite controversy, the emergence of Bulgaria, and the first Iconoclasm. It seemed to us in 2012 that the fifteen years of research since C. Mango and R. Scott's ground-breaking English translation¹ had witnessed steady advances in the understanding of the manuscript tradition as well as in the identification and assessment of the *Chronicle*'s individual sources. In this regard, one source of the *Chronicle*, clearly related to the Western Syriac tradition, had received a particularly large share of attention. It also seemed to us, however, that on this and other matters opinions differed, while numerous questions, concerning for example the author's method and biases, the early manuscripts, or the Latin adaptation by Anastasius, Librarian of the Roman Church († c. 879), waited to be reformulated in the light of recent research.

The first section of the volume is devoted to the question of the authorship of the *Chronicle*, raised by C. Mango almost forty years ago.² Detecting what he believed to be the traces of George Synkellos' composition, Mango suggested that the sentence, found in Theophanes' preface, "[George Synkellos] both bequeathed to me, who was his close friend, the book he had written and provided *aphormas* with a view to completing what was missing," where *aphormas* can indeed indicate "materials" (but also a "starting point" or "pretext"), describes more or less a draft which Theophanes did little more than revise and polish. The opening contribution of this section, by W. Treadgold, develops this view and presents the knowns and unknowns of George's life, career, and legacy. In the following paper, in contrast, C. Zuckerman takes issue with this interpretation. Zuckerman attributes a far greater agency to the author of the *Chronicle* and argues

¹ MANGO–SCOTT.

² MANGO, Who wrote the *Chronicle*.

that he could be distinguished from the Confessor and abbot of Aegina. In spite of this, we shall not be able to keep speaking of "Theophanes" as the author of an ideal or idealized representation of his identity, the question of his relationship with Emperor as a theme. Theophanes' attempt to identify Synkellos' hand behind the *Chronicle*, perhaps its main distinctive feature, without however in the context of the *Chronicle* perhaps its main distinctive feature, without however leaving Theophanes' role in making it look very different from Synkellos' *Chronography*. The analysis of the chronological framework of the *Chronicle* leads him to offer a new explanation of Theophanes' problematic chronology of the seventh and eighth centuries and seems very likely to be correct for this period. A. Kompa offers a stylistic argument and seems very likely to be correct for this period. A. Kompa offers a stylistic argument and seems very likely to be correct for this period. We have resolved to put in this section some of Theophanes' more independent views. We have resolved to put in this section some of Theophanes' more independent views. We have resolved to put in this section some of Theophanes' more independent views.

The second section is devoted to issues of transmission, both direct (manuscript tradition) and indirect (secondary transmission). F. Ronconi has undertaken the major task of working with the only manuscript of the *Chronicle*, following B. Fonkić's work, ending in the early nineteenth century of Paris gr. 1710,² which had been regarded as a forgery and dated to the ninth century by de Boor. The priority of the Parisian manuscript has been further argued in several publications by P. Yannopoulou,³ but many questions remain open. Ronconi prefer a later date in the third quarter of the ninth century and offers many insights on the palaeographic and codicological aspects of the text and its early transmission. His analysis is likely to spark fresh debate. B. Neil looks carefully into the manuscript steps in the transmission of Theophanes' influential account of the Arab conquests from Greek into Latin. J. Signes-Cosío explores the possible role of knowledge on the transmission of the *Chronicle* after it had been attributed to Theophanes the Confessor, a distant relative of Emperor Zoe Karbonopsina and her son Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, starting from the possibility that Paris gr. 1710 represents an early stage of Theophanes' work, he suggests that the *Chronicle* was written under Zoe's patronage, perhaps with the addition of the chronological rubrics during the reigns of emperors, Persian king (later caliph), and patriarchs in the early tenth century. P. Monnier has attempted to fulfil a desideratum in research on Theophanes' *Chronicle*, working systematically on indirect transmission, particularly in the world of middle Byzantine historians. Finally, A. M. Tarantolova presents the so far

unpublished Greek Church Slavonic translation of the beginning of Theophanes' *Chronicle*. While not modifying the published Greek text in the relevant portion, the Slavonic was a translation of one version, its dating to the age of Probus as argued by Tarantolova, an important early witness to the general shape of the *Chronicle*.

The third section concerns Theophanes' sources for early Byzantine history. It is opened by K. Sano's presentation of Theophanes' handling of the sources in the first half of the *Chronicle*, developing his views published in several articles since 1996. I. Tarnacka studies Theophanes' handling of one particular theme, the cult of relics. The contribution of G. Grestex deals with Theophanes' lost source on the Persian wars of Anastasius I, identifying it with the work of a classicizing author also accessed by Eusebius of Epiphaneia, whose work Theophanes in his turn knew. S. Poudéron offers the definitive proof that Theophanes used one of his major sources for the fourth and fifth centuries, a lost companion to ecclesiastical history by Theodore Lector, only through a later epitome, although he speculates that Theophanes may have known also the full works of Theodore and of John Diakrinomenos. In the penultimate contribution here A. Kotłowska and E. Różycki present a case study of Theophanes' treatment of Theophylact Simocatta in the steps of Ja. M. Ljubarskij. Finally, we have fitted into this section, in spite of its broader perspective, the contribution by S. Costantino, who proposes to study Theophanes' perception of the economic sphere. This becomes a pretext for a further-reaching and therefore very welcome discussion of some vexed issues in seventh- and eighth-century economic and social history, which is supplemented by an appendix systematically collecting a large quantity of positive data.

A separate section hosts papers by some of the major actors in the current debate on Theophanes' Eastern source. A source for the seventh and eighth centuries common to Theophanes and the late Syriac chronicle of Michael, patriarch of Antioch († 1199), was already recognized by E. W. Brooks.⁴ The same source appears to have been used also by an anonymous Syriac chronicler, writing down to 1234, who shared Michael's sources, and by the tenth-century Arab-Christian historian Agapios of Menbidj. In 1990, L. I. Conrad identified this source with the lost historical work of the court astrologer of Caliph al-Mahdi, Theophilos of Edessa († 785), which today enjoys distinct life in the authoritative reconstruction of R. Hoyland. Adding another element to the puzzle, R. Hoyland brings out an unpublished portion of Agapios' work from the pages of the Florence manuscript that were glued together when the early twentieth-century editors, A. A. Vasiliev and L. Cheikho, viewed it. The new text, covering the first years of the caliphate of Mu'awiya (661/2–666/7), is to an unexpectedly large extent based on early

5. Especially in R. Scott, Writing the reign of Justinian: Malalas versus Theophanes, in *The early century – end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 101, Brisbane 1996), pp. 20–34, and 101. "The events of every year, arranged without confusion": Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire: la littérature de l'historiographie: actes du III^e colloque international philologique EPMHNEA*, Nicosie, 6–7–8 mai 2004, organisé par l'EHESS et l'université de Chypre, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger (Dossiers byzantins 6), Paris 2006, pp. 49–65.

6. W. E. Brooks, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers, *BZ* 15/2, 1906, pp. 578–87.

7. L. I. Conrad, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition, *Rev. French* 15, 1990, pp. 1–11; Hoyland, *Theophilos*.

1. B. Fonkić, *Die Chronik des Theophanes Confessor* (Bonn 1906), p. 171. In *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 183–6 (repr. in B. L. Fonkić 1916, Leipzig 1975), pp. 8–10.

2. B. Fonkić, *Die Chronik des Theophanes Confessor* (Bonn 1906), p. 171. In *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 183–6 (repr. in B. L. Fonkić 1916, Leipzig 1975), pp. 8–10.

3. P. Yannopoulou, *Theophanes the Confessor* (Leiden 1996), p. 171. In *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 183–6 (repr. in B. L. Fonkić 1916, Leipzig 1975), pp. 8–10.

Islamic sources. The following two papers voice scepticism against the 'Theophilos source.' M. Delue offers an introduction to the complicated philological and cultural-historical issues raised by the hypothesis of a single Syriac source underlying the four dependencies, while M. Contorno brings forth several (mainly linguistic) arguments against Heyland's reconstruction and similarly argues for multiple Eastern sources covering the Dark Centuries. The opposite perspective is defended by M. Jankowiak in his paper in the first part of the book. At the end of this section, A. Hilken presents some of the results of his doctoral dissertation on the source of the *Chronicle of 1234*. He offers a clear presentation of an aspect of the relationship between Theophanes and Syriac historiography that has been overshadowed by the interest in Theophanes and the Dark Centuries, namely the existence of parallels relating to the fourth to sixth centuries. Hilken questions the ascription of some of these parallels to a lost Arian history which ultimately relied on Philostorgius' *Church history* (J. Bidez) or to Theodore Lector (M. Deakinos), and instead supports H. C. Hansen's view that the Syriac chroniclers read Theophanes. In the light of this theory, so far overlooked in the debate on the Oriental source, the reconstruction of Theophilos' chronicle may have been flawed by the attribution to Theophilos of bits of Theophanes' narrative. (On these implications, see the paper by F. Montinaro.) In sum, the debate on the Eastern source is certain to continue.

The last section of the book deals with the later part of the *Chronicle* and with its sources. In her study of Theophanes' Byzantine source for the late seventh and early eighth centuries, S. Törner thinks of one single source beginning c. 668 and ending c. 716. She supports judgement on whether or not we should attribute this source, which she prefers to call the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, to the shadowy Patrician Trajan. L. Mordechai sets up a statistical method for spotting Theophanes' presence in the text through selected lexical markers. While there are risks inherent in a quantitative approach, Mordechai has succeeded in showing that Theophanes quite uniformly edited the text of the last century of the *Chronicle*, an observation which does not contradict Kompa's aforementioned findings concerning, for the most part, the first part of the *Chronicle*. D. Afinogenov proposes to attribute Theophanes' source for the years 718–75 to nobody less than Constantine Tauran († 806), writing before his election. Finally, J. Howard-Johnston uncovers the traces of government communiqués behind much of the seemingly official information in the last thirty years covered by the *Chronicle*.

In general to be fair (and on schedule) the Paris conference could not be exhaustive. It is the nature of things that some questions should remain unanswered or even unasked. The most noticeable gap in this book is perhaps the absence of studies on Alexander de Modra, one of Theophanes' sources for the reign of Constantine the Great, which is even available in L. Nédal's English translation, or on George of Pisidia, on whom Theophanes drew amply for the reign of Heraclius and whose work Mary Whitby has recently done splendidly elucidate.¹ We do not claim to have offered the answer to each of

the questions that were asked, let alone to have always asked the right questions. But we felt surprised by the number of new findings that emerged both during the colloquium and at the editing stage. Opinions on these and other matters still diverge, but our aim was not to offer a definitive volume on Theophanes' *Chronicle*. Our project was rather to enable the readers to take the temperature of the debates and to familiarize themselves with positions on issues of central importance to the study of the *Chronicle*. We offer this volume to the reader with the simple hope that it will stimulate further research.

The idea of a conference and a volume on Theophanes' *Chronicle* has long been in gestation. In 2008, we both attended C. Zuckerman's seminar on the *Chronicle* at the École pratique des hautes études, which instilled in us an enthusiasm for this crucial source. Later on, during the Byzantine Congress in Sofia in August 2011, we found ourselves engaged over a glass of beer in a discussion about the authorship of the *Chronicle* with A. Kompa. This one pub idea survived the evening and eventually led to the gathering in Paris in September 2012.

We wish to express our gratitude to the contributors, who have endured and reacted to our exacting comments on their work in progress for almost three years, to the sponsors of the 2012 conference, namely the Collège de France, the University of Paris 4, the UMR 8167, and the Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, and to those who made that conference possible by entrusting us with important resources: J.-C. Cheynet, C. Zuckerman, V. Déroche, and O. Delouis. A. Ter-Markosyan took care of the conference design. L. Simon, who has now retired, did much of the administrative work. V. Prigent bravely took over a Saturday morning panel during a communication breakdown between the organizers. A. Binggeli and B. Caseau accepted to chair two more panels. We should also like to thank the staff of the two Byzantine libraries of rue Cardinal-Lemoine and at the Sorbonne. Those who have had the privilege to cooperate with E. Capet know that her work on texts goes well beyond the usual tasks performed by a copy editor. C. Sweeting was most helpful in the final revision of texts.

M. J. was at the time of the conference supported by the International Newton Fellowship of the British Academy, to which he expresses his gratitude.

F. M. wishes to thank the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation in Cologne, and the university there, for supporting his research during much of the time that was needed for the preparation of this book: C. Sode and S. Wahlgren for support beyond academia; his present employer, the Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, M. Meier and the colleagues at Alte Geschichte and the SFB 923; his family.

As this volume goes to print, the news has already reached Byzantinists worldwide of Gilbert Dagron's death. We need not underline the gravity of the loss. We dedicate this volume to him.

¹ J. B. Bury, *Alexander de Modra: son rôle de l'histoire à l'époque de la Croix* (BHG: 110), in *Byzantine studies: essays in history and literature*, ed. and translated dedicated to the memory of the late J. B. Bury, ed. by G. H. D. Lloyd-Jones (The Variorum Mediceanum 19), Leiden – Boston 2003, pp. 1–10; *George of Pisidia: the poems*, ed. by M. Whitby, *A new text for a new age: George of Pisidia*, ed. by E. Dąbrowska, Kraków 1994, pp. 197–225; Ead., *Defender of the Cross: George of Pisidia on the emperor Heraclius and his deputies*, in *The propaganda of power: the role of panegyric in late antiquity*, ed. by M. Whitby, Leiden 1998, pp. 247–74; Ead., *George of Pisidia's presentation of the emperor Heraclius and his campaigns: variety and development*, in *The reign of Heraclius (610–641): crisis and confrontation*, ed. by G. J. Reinink and B. H. Stolte, Leuven 2002, pp. 157–73.

THE LIFE AND WIDER SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE SYNCELLUS

by Warren TREADGOLD

Should we call George Syncellus a Byzantine historian? The common opinion, which I share, is that we should.¹ Yet some have also thought that George was born and educated within the Byzantine Empire, as I believe he was not. His case seems to have been almost the reverse of that of Ammianus Marcellinus, whom some of us would also call a Byzantine historian.² Ammianus was a native speaker of Greek from the Eastern Roman Empire who moved to the Western Roman Empire and wrote in Latin. George was probably a native speaker of Syriac from the Arab Caliphate who moved to the Byzantine Empire and wrote in Greek. Both Ammianus and George were born in Syria, though some four centuries apart. Both of them also intended to write histories that began with much earlier times and ended with their own, though most of the earlier part of Ammianus' history is lost and the latter part of George's history was never finished. While the basic facts about Ammianus' life and history are fairly well established—except for the possible survival of some of the earlier part of his history—the facts about George's life and history are more controversial, including how much he was responsible for the work we know as the *Chronography* of Theophanes.³

We have even less information about George than about most of the authors of surviving Byzantine histories.⁴ He never wrote a preface for his *Selection of chronography*.

1. Parts of this paper have appeared in slightly different form in TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 38–63.

2. For my views on Ammianus, see W. TREADGOLD, *The early Byzantine historians* (Basingstoke 2007), pp. 47–78.

3. For the survival of some of the earlier part of Ammianus' history, see TREADGOLD, *Early Byzantine historians* (quoted n. 2), pp. 314–9 (fragments preserved by John Malalas and John of Antioch by way of Eustathius of Epiphania) and *Middle Byzantine historians* (quoted n. 1), pp. 395–6 (fragments preserved by John Zonaras by way of John of Antioch and Eustathius), and now ID., *Byzantine historiography and the lost books of Ammianus Marcellinus*, in *Armenia between Byzantium and the Orient: celebrating the memory of Karen Yuzbashyan*, ed. by C. Horn et al. (Texts and studies in Eastern Christianity) to be published by Brill.

4. On George in general, besides TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 38–63, see W. ADLER, *Time immemorial: archaic history and its sources in Christian chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks studies 26), Washington 1989; ADLER – TUTTIN, pp. xxix–lxxxvii; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. xlili–lxliii; MANGO, *Who wrote the Chronicle*; I. SEVČENKO,

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 9–30.

the only work preserved under his name, and he seldom mentions himself in it. His co-worker Theophanes in his own preface simply describes George as "the most blessed *George*, former syncellus of the most holy patriarch Tarasius." While at this time *syncellus* could mean a monk who was venerable without being the abbot of a monastery, one syncellus of the patriarch of Constantinople was an important man. Syncelli (more than one syncellus could serve at a time) were appointed by the emperor, ranked just after the patriarch, acted as the patriarch's advisers, and sometimes became patriarchs themselves. According to Theophanes, George was "an eloquent and extremely learned man" who had consulted and analyzed "many" historical texts, combining and correcting them to construct a chronological narrative of the period from Adam to the emperor Diocletian.⁷ This is a somewhat flattering description of what George accomplished in the rather disorganized *Selection of chronography* that bears his name.

Theophanes says that after recording Diocletian's accession to sole power in 285 George fell mortally ill. On his deathbed he entrusted whatever he had written so far, along with "the materials to complete what was lacking," to Theophanes, because the two of them were "close friends." Theophanes reluctantly acceded to George's earnest request that he finish the task. Theophanes claims then to have excerpted "many [more] books" in order to bring the narrative down to the reign of the emperor Michael I, but to have added "nothing of my own." Taken literally, this last claim implies that Theophanes copied from someone else—whether George or another written source—even the final, contemporary portion of the *Chronography*, which ends with Michael I's abdication in August 813. This must have been less than two years before the *Chronography* was completed, because the text shows no awareness of Leo V's restoration of iconoclasm in spring 815.⁸

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, the papal secretary who translated the chronicles of both George and Theophanes into Latin later in the ninth century, provides us with a very short biography of George. It seems however to be based merely on Theophanes' preface and a mistake. Anastasius tells us, as we already know from Theophanes, that George was a monk and a syncellus of the patriarch Tarasius. Anastasius also says that George stoutly opposed heretics and suffered many blows from secular rulers as a result, for which he was commended by name at the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (787), as can be seen in its acts. Although the acts of the council say nothing of the sort about anyone who could be George Syncellus, they commend another George, the bishop of Salamis or Cyprus, for stoutly opposing iconoclasm and suffering many blows from iconoclast

rulers. Evidently Anastasius had confused George Syncellus with George of Cyprus and otherwise knew nothing more about George Syncellus than we know from Theophanes.⁹

George includes a little incidental information about himself in his *Selection of chronography*, whose titles confirm that he was a monk.¹⁰ At the beginning of his text he declares that he plans to begin with the Creation and to narrate the history of the Jews, Greeks, and other nations from a variety of sources. He also mentions where he plans to stop: "Finally, to the best of my ability, I shall describe up to the present year 6300 from the creation of the world [807/8], the first indiction, the God-abhorred 'covenant against Christ and against our people which 'the Ishmaelites and the tabernacles of the Idumaeans covenanted' [Ps. 82.6–7], persecuting by divine judgments the people subject to the Spirit and practicing the 'apostasy' in the last days prophesied by St. Paul [2 Thess. 2.3–12]."¹¹ Here George must be referring to a persecution of Syrian Christians by the Arabs ("Ishmaelites"). Such a persecution is described in Theophanes' *Chronography* under AM 6301 (AD 808/9) and 6305 (812/13), where it is said to have lasted five years.¹² While Theophanes' two references span only four years, George's date of AM 6300 indicates that the persecution must have begun in 807/8, so that its five years should be counted from then to 812/13.¹³ George's reference to "our people" seems to imply that George was a Syrian himself.

Thus George clearly states that he began compiling his *Selection of chronography* in 807/8. About halfway through his text, he refers to "the present year 6302," which corresponded to AD 809/10, so that he seems to have taken two years to advance that far.¹⁴ If George then continued his work at the same pace as he had in the first half of his text, he would still have been writing in 811/12. If he took a bit more time, perhaps to prepare the further "materials" that he gave to Theophanes, George could easily have lived until 812/13, when the narrative in Theophanes' *Chronography* ends. If so, and if Theophanes really did add nothing of his own to the *Chronography* that goes under his name, George himself is the most likely source for the final part of the narrative. In that case, the description of the Arabs' persecution of the Syrian Christians up to 812/13 in the *Chronography* was composed by George, and merely copied by Theophanes, or by a scribe working at Theophanes' direction.

In his own *Selection of chronography*, George mentions several places that he had personally seen in Syria, and specifically in Palestine. He remarks that the twelve stones that Joshua had placed in the Jordan River near Jericho "are still there until this day," and that "up to the present" men harvest grain near Jericho around the vernal equinox for use at the Easter eucharist in Jerusalem.¹⁵ George further observes that "the whole

7. Cf. Anast., pp. 33–4 with MASSI XIII, cols. 356D–357D (not yet available in the new *MGH* series, etc.). This apparent confusion is mentioned by ADLER – TUTIN, pp. xxix–xxx and n. 6; MASCO – SCOTT, p. xliii; and LAQUEUR, *RE IVa*, col. 1389.

8. Georg. Sync., pp. 1 (general title) and 360 (title of second MS. volume).

9. *Ibid.*, p. 6.7–12 (where I would omit the comma in line 2 of Mushammet's text).

10. Theoph. AM 6301, p. 484.5–19, and AM 6305, p. 499.15–31.

11. I therefore disagree slightly with MASCO – SCOTT, p. 666 n. 7, who suppose that the persecution lasted from 809 "down to 814."

12. Georg. Sync., pp. 2.29–32, 6.11–12, and 244.31; cf. ADLER – TUTIN, p. xxix n. 1.

13. Georg. Sync., pp. 167.18–19 (the stones in the Jordan) and 168.12–16 (the grain harvested at Jericho).

¹⁴ I learned, for the first time, that George lived around the year 800, *DCP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–93; A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature 800–1500*, Athens 1999, pp. 206–8; G. HUXLEY, On the erudition of George Syncellus, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C. Archaeology, Celtic studies, History, Linguistics, and Literature* 83, 1983, pp. 207–17, and R. LAQUEUR in *RE IVa*, cols. 1388–1410. George's life seems to have been of little interest to most of these studies, particularly those of Theophanes, pp. 3. On the life of George Syncellus, see N. CHROUSTIDIS, *Les listes de présence* in *Journal de la Société d'études byzantines* 1972, p. 108.

¹⁵ Theoph. *Chron.* p. 3. On the life of George Syncellus, see N. CHROUSTIDIS, *Les listes de présence* in *Journal de la Société d'études byzantines* 1972, p. 108.

the chronological significance in the caliphate, but in Byzantium it marked the death of the emperor Theophilus and the accession of the iconophile rulers Constantine VI and Irene. The emperor Theophilus and the emperor Constantine VI were also iconophiles, might reasonably have issued the edicts against the iconophiles and their son would take more interest in them than previous emperors had done.

The Greek version of the continuation of Theophilus' chronicle seem to be a late, second attempt to the Byzantine government and church to help the Christians of Syria fight the oppression of twenty-one entries describe various oppressive measures taken by the Muslim authorities against Syrian Christians, which ranged from tax increases, confiscations, and the destruction of churches to arrests, torture, and outright murder.²⁸ The earlier material from Theophilus' original chronicle in Theophanes' continuation is a continuation of the Muslim oppression of Christians, over a period four hundred years. Notably, under 783/84, the continuer records how the Melkite patriarchs of Jerusalem, and Alexandria and their suffragan bishops anathematized an iconoclast bishop of Epiphania (Hama).²⁹ This anathema, which dated from the reign of the emperor Constantine VI, would have reminded Byzantine readers that most Melkite Christians of the East were iconophiles like Irene and Constantine VI.

The Greek translation and continuation of the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa for the emperor Theophilus' *Chronography* seem therefore to have been prepared primarily for a Byzantine readership, and in particular for the Byzantine rulers. That Theophanes' *Chronography* includes this material shows that the translation and continuation did in fact arrive in the empire. Presumably the supplemented translation of Theophilus' chronicle was among the "materials" that George entrusted to Theophanes around 813 so that Theophanes could complete George's work. If this Greek version of a Syriac chronicle was indeed composed in the hope of persuading Irene to negotiate with the caliph for better treatment for Eastern Christians, sending it to Constantinople would have been a matter of some urgency. We should therefore expect it to have been dispatched there not long after it was completed, at a date between 780 and 783. In the absence of an international postal service, some private person must have brought the translated and supplemented chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa from Syria to Byzantium. This should not have been particularly dangerous during the truce that prevailed between the emperor and the caliphate between August 782 and April 785.³⁰

Since by 813 George had a copy of the translation and continuation of Theophilus' chronicle in Constantinople, much the most likely person to have brought it there was George himself. After all, George made the long and dangerous journey from Palestine to Constantinople at some point, and presumably for a good reason. As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere, the earlier part of Theophilus' chronicle was probably one of George's main sources for his whole *Selection of chronography*.³¹ Yet to judge from the narrative in Theophanes' *Chronography*, after 781-3 George lacked the detailed knowledge of events in Syria that he had shown before that date; the obvious explanation is that soon after 781 George had ceased to reside in Syria. Moreover, almost the whole of the *Chronography's* account of events in Constantinople from 781 to 813 seems to be the work of George. We have already seen that George probably composed the contemporary part of the *Chronography* up to 813. The *Chronography's* main Greek source for the preceding period, the continuation of the *Concise chronicle* of Trajan the Patrician, concluded with 781.

Although George Syncellus might in theory have brought the translation and continuation of Theophilus' Syriac chronicle to Constantinople after someone else had prepared them, George himself is the most likely candidate to be Theophilus' translator and continuer. George certainly knew both Greek and Syriac well. We know from his *Selection* that George later planned to compose a chronicle that would cover the whole period covered by Theophilus' chronicle and that would incorporate extensive material from the translation of that chronicle. George also wrote a further continuation of Theophilus' chronicle from 781 to 813, if he is indeed the author of that part of Theophanes' *Chronography*. The possibility that the continuer of Theophilus' chronicle was a native of Emesa seems compatible with his being George. George was evidently born somewhere in greater Syria, and can hardly have been born in the desolate region of St. Chariton itself.³²

The continuation of Theophilus' chronicle from 750 to 780 also seems to be the work of a fairly young man, as George would have been around 780. The first entries in it that look like eyewitness accounts both apparently concern church services at Emesa in 760/61 and 761/62, as if the author had only then begun to be aware of current events.³³ Admittedly, the material from the translation and continuation of Theophilus' chronicle in Theophanes' *Chronography* shows no unambiguous stylistic resemblances to the narrative from 781 to 813 that appears to be George's work. Yet a Syrian's Greek

28. See, for example, pp. 427-32, 436-438, p. 439, 441-42, 446-449, 451-452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

29. Theophanes' *Chronography*, for mention of John under AM 6122, these entries are AM 6122, 6123, 6124, 6125, 6126, 6127, 6128, 6129, 6130, 6131, 6132, 6133, 6134, 6135, 6136, 6137, 6138, 6139, 6140, 6141, 6142, 6143, 6144, 6145, 6146, 6147, 6148, 6149, 6150, 6151, 6152, 6153, 6154, 6155, 6156, 6157, 6158, 6159, 6160, 6161, 6162, 6163, 6164, 6165, 6166, 6167, 6168, 6169, 6170, 6171, 6172, 6173, 6174, 6175, 6176, 6177, 6178, 6179, 6180, 6181, 6182, 6183, 6184, 6185, 6186, 6187, 6188, 6189, 6190, 6191, 6192, 6193, 6194, 6195, 6196, 6197, 6198, 6199, 6200, 6201, 6202, 6203, 6204, 6205, 6206, 6207, 6208, 6209, 6210, 6211, 6212, 6213, 6214, 6215, 6216, 6217, 6218, 6219, 6220, 6221, 6222, 6223, 6224, 6225, 6226, 6227, 6228, 6229, 6230, 6231, 6232, 6233, 6234, 6235, 6236, 6237, 6238, 6239, 6240, 6241, 6242, 6243, 6244, 6245, 6246, 6247, 6248, 6249, 6250, 6251, 6252, 6253, 6254, 6255, 6256, 6257, 6258, 6259, 6260, 6261, 6262, 6263, 6264, 6265, 6266, 6267, 6268, 6269, 6270, 6271, 6272, 6273, 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30. Theophanes' *Chronography*, for mention of John under AM 6122, these entries are AM 6122, 6123, 6124, 6125, 6126, 6127, 6128, 6129, 6130, 6131, 6132, 6133, 6134, 6135, 6136, 6137, 6138, 6139, 6140, 6141, 6142, 6143, 6144, 6145, 6146, 6147, 6148, 6149, 6150, 6151, 6152, 6153, 6154, 6155, 6156, 6157, 6158, 6159, 6160, 6161, 6162, 6163, 6164, 6165, 6166, 6167, 6168, 6169, 6170, 6171, 6172, 6173, 6174, 6175, 6176, 6177, 6178, 6179, 6180, 6181, 6182, 6183, 6184, 6185, 6186, 6187, 6188, 6189, 6190, 6191, 6192, 6193, 6194, 6195, 6196, 6197, 6198, 6199, 6200, 6201, 6202, 6203, 6204, 6205, 6206, 6207, 6208, 6209, 6210, 6211, 6212, 6213, 6214, 6215, 6216, 6217, 6218, 6219, 6220, 6221, 6222, 6223, 6224, 6225, 6226, 6227, 6228, 6229, 6230, 6231, 6232, 6233, 6234, 6235, 6236, 6237, 6238, 6239, 6240, 6241, 6242, 6243, 6244, 6245, 6246, 6247, 6248, 6249, 6250, 6251, 6252, 6253, 6254, 6255, 6256, 6257, 6258, 6259, 6260, 6261, 6262, 6263, 6264, 6265, 6266, 6267, 6268, 6269, 6270, 6271, 6272, 6273, 6274, 6275, 6276, 6277, 6278, 6279, 6280, 6281, 6282, 6283, 6284, 6285, 6286, 6287, 6288, 6289, 6290, 6291, 6292, 6293, 6294, 6295, 6296, 6297, 6298, 6299, 6300, 6301, 6302, 6303, 6304, 6305, 6306, 6307, 6308, 6309, 6310, 6311, 6312, 6313, 6314, 6315, 6316, 6317, 6318, 6319, 6320, 6321, 6322, 6323, 6324, 6325, 6326, 6327, 6328, 6329, 6330, 6331, 6332, 6333, 6334, 6335, 6336, 6337, 6338, 6339, 6340, 6341, 6342, 6343, 6344, 6345, 6346, 6347, 6348, 6349, 6350, 6351, 6352, 6353, 6354, 6355, 6356, 6357, 6358, 6359, 6360, 6361, 6362, 6363, 6364, 6365, 6366, 6367, 6368, 6369, 6370, 6371, 6372, 6373, 6374, 6375, 6376, 6377, 6378, 6379, 6380, 6381, 6382, 6383, 6384, 6385, 6386, 6387, 6388, 6389, 6390, 6391, 6392, 6393, 6394, 6395, 6396, 6397, 6398, 6399, 6400, 6401, 6402, 6403, 6404, 6405, 6406, 6407, 6408, 6409, 6410, 6411, 6412, 6413, 6414, 6415, 6416, 6417, 6418, 6419, 6420, 6421, 6422, 6423, 6424, 6425, 6426, 6427, 6428, 6429, 6430, 6431, 6432, 6433, 6434, 6435, 6436, 6437, 6438, 6439, 6440, 6441, 6442, 6443, 6444, 6445, 6446, 6447, 6448, 6449, 6450, 6451, 6452, 6453, 6454, 6455, 6456, 6457, 6458, 6459, 6460, 6461, 6462, 6463, 6464, 6465, 6466, 6467, 6468, 6469, 6470, 6471, 6472, 6473, 6474, 6475, 6476, 6477, 6478, 6479, 6480, 6481, 6482, 6483, 6484, 6485, 6486, 6487, 6488, 6489, 6490, 6491, 6492, 6493, 6494, 6495, 6496, 6497, 6498, 6499, 6500, 6501, 6502, 6503, 6504, 6505, 6506, 6507, 6508, 6509, 6510, 6511, 6512, 6513, 6514, 6515, 6516, 6517, 6518, 6519, 6520, 6521, 6522, 6523, 6524, 6525, 6526, 6527, 6528, 6529, 6530, 6531, 6532, 6533, 6534, 6535, 6536, 6537, 6538, 6539, 6540, 6541, 6542, 6543, 6544, 6545, 6546, 6547, 6548, 6549, 6550, 6551, 6552, 6553, 6554, 6555, 6556,

... could be expected to become more idiomatic during thirty years of residence in a Greek-speaking territory, especially when that Syrian composed in Greek instead of Syriac. Theophilus of Edessa's Syriac, as he had done earlier.³¹ In any case, George Syncellus seems most likely to have arrived in Constantinople with the translation and continuation of Theophilus' chronicle around 783.

There was a time of troubles for the Melkite patriarchate of Jerusalem. Its legitimate patriarch Theodoros II became patriarch no earlier than 767, when Theodore I is last attested as patriarch, even because of "unjust slanders and senseless accusations" the caliph imprisoned Theodoros in Baghdad "for quite a number of years," which ended with Elias' return to Jerusalem sometime before 794. When Elias returned, he displaced a monk named Theodorus, who had recently usurped the patriarchate.³² Theophanes' *Chronography* more accurately calls it Theodoric. By this time it has long ceased to list the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Alexandria in its headings, evidently because the dying George had not left Theophanes an updated list of those patriarchs.³³ The last patriarch of Jerusalem mentioned in the text of the *Chronography* is Theodore I in 763.³⁴ The *Chronography* says nothing about Jerusalem when it lists the representatives supposedly sent to Constantinople by the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria for the abortive synod of 780 and the Council of Nicaea the next year.³⁵

The whole question of the representation of the Eastern patriarchs at the Council of Nicaea is a vexed one. The only known response to the letters sent from Constantinople to those patriarchs in 785 to request legates for a council was an anonymous letter read aloud at Nicaea in 787. After an initial greeting to the patriarch Tarasius from "the bishops of the East," the letter begins: "Having read the all-holy and divinely-inspired decrees dictated by your apostolic and paternal holiness, O most blessed fathers, the humblest and the least of those who have been called to inhabit the desert,

31. Moses the Syrian's *Chronicle*, pp. 13–4, remarks, "Originally, this chronicle must have been written in Syriac, and it is not unreasonable that George himself could have translated it into Greek. Indeed, because of the peculiar distinctive idiom of the 'oriental' passages, I prefer to believe that the Greek version was produced by another hand." H. G. L. Evans, *Theophilus*, p. 10, observes, "The *Chronography* of George is the successor of the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch in the years 742–56 implies that George Syncellus was a Melkite." It is quite possible that it was George Syncellus himself who did the work. This suggestion is not in the end provable, but it is plausible and is a more reasonable assumption.

32. *PhoebZ*, Theophanes #773 (Theodoros I), Elias #1436 (Elias II), and Theodoros #7624 (the usurper Theodoric). M. A. Leclercq, *L'impératrice Théodora et le concile de Nicée* (Paris: Études byzantines, 1975), pp. 215–4, discusses these events and gives references, but on p. 216 n. 33 incorrectly states that the monk who usurped the throne was imprisoned for 20 years. It is Gérard Garitte, *La Théologie de l'Église à l'époque de l'islam* (Paris: Librairie d'Afrique et d'Orient, 1959), p. 345 nn. 1 and 2, who says that Theodoros was imprisoned for 20 years. The exact length of Elias' imprisonment seems to be given in Theophanes' *Chronography*, *The Life of Emperor the Sabas*, ed. in *AASS* 30 (July III), under Theodoros' name.

33. Theophanes, *Chronography*, pp. 13–4.

34. Theophanes, *Chronography*, pp. 13–4.

35. Theophanes, *Chronography*, pp. 13–4.

are seized by fear and joy." Thus the writer appears to have been a monk from a desert monastery, who uses the plural for himself as he uses it for Tarasius. The writer goes on to describe the oppressiveness of Muslim rule and his conversation with the messengers to the Eastern patriarchs, whom he advised not to go to the East in order not to endanger the Eastern Church. Instead the writer chose as their representatives John and Thomas, "former syncelli of the two great and holy patriarchs," evidently meaning the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, since the writer observes that the patriarch of Jerusalem (presumably Elias) is in exile "on an utterly trivial charge."³⁶ To this unsigned letter the writer appends a "copy of a synodal letter of Theodore [I] of blessed memory, our father and patriarch of Jerusalem" to the patriarchs Cosmas I of Alexandria and Theodore I of Antioch, upholding orthodoxy and opposing iconoclasm. Theodore's letter was evidently written in 763, when according to Theophanes' *Chronography* Theodore of Antioch, Theodore of Jerusalem, and Cosmas joined in anathematizing the iconoclast bishop of Epiphania Cosmas Comanites.³⁷

The author of this strange letter seems to have been trying to avoid actually lying while falsely implying that John and Thomas were authentic representatives of the Eastern patriarchs. The writer claims not necessarily to be writing from his monastery in "the desert," wherever that was, but only to have been a monk in such a monastery at some time. He seems to have spoken with the messengers before they left Constantinople, since he could scarcely have found all of them in one place after they sailed separately for Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. He implies that he persuaded them not to go to the East at all. After 787 both John and Thomas resided in the empire, since according to Ignatius the Deacon's *Life of Tarasius* John was attending Tarasius in Constantinople in 795, possibly as his syncellus, and according to Theophanes' *Chronography* Thomas became archbishop of Thessalonica.³⁸ Both may well have been living in Constantinople already when they were designated as the "representatives" of the Eastern patriarchates. At the council Thomas signs as (presumably former) abbot of the monastery of St. Arsenius in Egypt, and John signs as "priest and patriarchal syncellus" without specifying which patriarch he was syncellus of. In fact, both John and Thomas sign jointly as "representatives" of all three Eastern patriarchs, even though the *Chronography* refers to John as "former syncellus of the patriarch of Antioch" and to "Thomas [former syncellus?] of Alexandria." In the *Chronography* and the anonymous letter the title *synkellos*, which technically meant someone who shares a cell, may mean nothing more than representative, with the deliberately misleading implication that John and Thomas held the office of syncellus. Most other sources simply call them *representatives* ("representative").³⁹ Theodore

36. *ACO*, *ser. rec.* III.1, pp. 244–54 (= *MASS* XII, cols. 1127–35).

37. Cf. *ACO*, *ser. rec.* III.1, pp. 254–68 (= *MASS* XII, cols. 1135–45) with Theoph. *act* 625v, pp. 433–4. Auzley, *Flagiographie* (quoted n. 32), pp. 218–28 and I. NIKSIS COLOMBO, *Melkites and icon worship during the iconoclast period*, *DOP* 67, 2013, pp. 152–60 have both argued that the anti-iconoclast views of the Eastern patriarchs were exaggerated at the Council of Nicaea, and Signes Codoñer (pp. 152–3) has argued that Comanites was condemned primarily for stealing church property.

38. Ignatius the Deacon, *Life of the patriarch Tarasius*, introd., text, transl. and commentary by S. Efthymiadis, Aldershot 1998, chapter 43 (in which John seems to act as Tarasius' adviser), cf. Theoph. *act* 627v, p. 461.4–6.

39. Cf. *ACO*, *ser. rec.* III.2, p. 488, 18–25 with Theoph. *act* 627v, p. 461. For the various formulas used by John and Thomas in signing the acts at Nicaea, see *PhoebZ*, Ioannes #3056 and Thomas #3057.

Chronians of Syria, although the author has less information about them than before, as The *Chronography* also includes long quotations from speeches made by Irene and Tarasius on the occasion of her choosing Tarasius to be patriarch in 784. Since Tarasius' speeches are quoted in the acts of the Council of Nicaea of 787, the whole account seems to have come from the patriarchal archives, which would have been accessible to George but probably not to Theophanes.⁵¹

For, rather than this latest part of the *Chronography*, George appears to have made an addition to the entry for 767/68 in the continuation of Trajan the Patrician's chronicle. This entry records that the relics of St. Euphemia, which in that year had been thrown into the sea by Constantine VI, were restored to the saint's church in Chalcedon in 796, and the text by Constantine VI were restored to the saint's church in Chalcedon in 796. At that time, the *Chronography* says, "we ourselves beheld them along with the most pious emperor (Constantine VI and Irene) and the most holy patriarch Tarasius, and removed the relics with them, having been found worthy of that great grace, though in fact we were unworthy." This reference seems to fit George, a high-ranking associate of the patriarch (and perhaps already syncellus), much better than Theophanes, who is unlikely to have left his monastery for the ceremony.⁵² In assembling his materials, George appears not to have mentioned the restoration of Euphemia's relics under the *date* when it occurred, but instead added this note to his source's record of the relics' original desecration.

The account of the years from 781 to 813 in the *Chronography* is a work of some value, as we might expect of a learned and intelligent outsider like George but not of the less sophisticated Theophanes.⁵³ This narrative, departing from the unqualified praise or condemnation usually found in Byzantine chronicles, includes nuanced treatment of the empress Irene, the emperors Constantine VI, Michael I, and Leo V, and the patriarchs Paul IV, Tarasius, and Nicephorus. All of these but Constantine VI receive some praise, the empress and emperors for their piety and the patriarchs for their wisdom. But in the addition to the entry for 767/68 praises Tarasius, Irene, and (in that last) Constantine VI.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the *Chronography* also describes Irene and

51. Theoph. *op. cit.* 627, pp. 401.31–401.6 (on the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria); *ibid.* 628, pp. 402.22–3 (on the same); *AM* 6282, p. 465.20–6 (on the patriarchal general Theophilus); and *AM* 6298, p. 482.20–3 (on the patriarchal general Theophilus).

52. Theoph. *op. cit.* 627, p. 401.31–401.6 (on the same); *AM* 6282, p. 465.20–6 (on the same); *AM* 6298, p. 482.20–3 (on the same).

53. Theoph. *op. cit.* 628, p. 402.22–3 (on the same); *AM* 6282, p. 465.20–6 (on the same); *AM* 6298, p. 482.20–3 (on the same).

54. Theoph. *op. cit.* 627, p. 401.31–401.6 (on the same); *AM* 6282, p. 465.20–6 (on the same); *AM* 6298, p. 482.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6299, p. 483.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6300, p. 484.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6301, p. 485.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6302, p. 486.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6303, p. 487.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6304, p. 488.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6305, p. 489.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6306, p. 490.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6307, p. 491.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6308, p. 492.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6309, p. 493.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6310, p. 494.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6311, p. 495.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6312, p. 496.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6313, p. 497.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6314, p. 498.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6315, p. 499.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6316, p. 500.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6317, p. 501.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6318, p. 502.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6319, p. 503.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6320, p. 504.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6321, p. 505.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6322, p. 506.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6323, p. 507.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6324, p. 508.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6325, p. 509.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6326, p. 510.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6327, p. 511.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6328, p. 512.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6329, p. 513.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6330, p. 514.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6331, p. 515.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6332, p. 516.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6333, p. 517.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6334, p. 518.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6335, p. 519.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6336, p. 520.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6337, p. 521.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6338, p. 522.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6339, p. 523.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6340, p. 524.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6341, p. 525.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6342, p. 526.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6343, p. 527.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6344, p. 528.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6345, p. 529.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6346, p. 530.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6347, p. 531.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6348, p. 532.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6349, p. 533.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6350, p. 534.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6351, p. 535.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6352, p. 536.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6353, p. 537.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6354, p. 538.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6355, p. 539.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6356, p. 540.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6357, p. 541.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6358, p. 542.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6359, p. 543.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6360, p. 544.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6361, p. 545.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6362, p. 546.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6363, p. 547.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6364, p. 548.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6365, p. 549.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6366, p. 550.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6367, p. 551.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6368, p. 552.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6369, p. 553.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6370, p. 554.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6371, p. 555.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6372, p. 556.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6373, p. 557.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6374, p. 558.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6375, p. 559.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6376, p. 560.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6377, p. 561.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6378, p. 562.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6379, p. 563.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6380, p. 564.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6381, p. 565.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6382, p. 566.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6383, p. 567.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6384, p. 568.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6385, p. 569.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6386, p. 570.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6387, p. 571.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6388, p. 572.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6389, p. 573.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6390, p. 574.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6391, p. 575.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6392, p. 576.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6393, p. 577.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6394, p. 578.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6395, p. 579.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6396, p. 580.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6397, p. 581.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6398, p. 582.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6399, p. 583.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6400, p. 584.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6401, p. 585.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6402, p. 586.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6403, p. 587.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6404, p. 588.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6405, p. 589.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6406, p. 590.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6407, p. 591.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6408, p. 592.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6409, p. 593.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6410, p. 594.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6411, p. 595.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6412, p. 596.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6413, p. 597.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6414, p. 598.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6415, p. 599.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6416, p. 600.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6417, p. 601.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6418, p. 602.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6419, p. 603.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6420, p. 604.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6421, p. 605.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6422, p. 606.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6423, p. 607.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6424, p. 608.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6425, p. 609.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6426, p. 610.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6427, p. 611.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6428, p. 612.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6429, p. 613.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6430, p. 614.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6431, p. 615.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6432, p. 616.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6433, p. 617.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6434, p. 618.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6435, p. 619.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6436, p. 620.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6437, p. 621.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6438, p. 622.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6439, p. 623.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6440, p. 624.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6441, p. 625.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6442, p. 626.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6443, p. 627.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6444, p. 628.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6445, p. 629.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6446, p. 630.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6447, p. 631.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6448, p. 632.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6449, p. 633.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6450, p. 634.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6451, p. 635.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6452, p. 636.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6453, p. 637.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6454, p. 638.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6455, p. 639.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6456, p. 640.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6457, p. 641.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6458, p. 642.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6459, p. 643.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6460, p. 644.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6461, p. 645.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6462, p. 646.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6463, p. 647.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6464, p. 648.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6465, p. 649.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6466, p. 650.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6467, p. 651.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6468, p. 652.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6469, p. 653.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6470, p. 654.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6471, p. 655.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6472, p. 656.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6473, p. 657.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6474, p. 658.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6475, p. 659.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6476, p. 660.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6477, p. 661.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6478, p. 662.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6479, p. 663.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6480, p. 664.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6481, p. 665.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6482, p. 666.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6483, p. 667.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6484, p. 668.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6485, p. 669.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6486, p. 670.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6487, p. 671.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6488, p. 672.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6489, p. 673.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6490, p. 674.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6491, p. 675.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6492, p. 676.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6493, p. 677.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6494, p. 678.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6495, p. 679.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6496, p. 680.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6497, p. 681.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6498, p. 682.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6499, p. 683.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6500, p. 684.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6501, p. 685.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6502, p. 686.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6503, p. 687.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6504, p. 688.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6505, p. 689.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6506, p. 690.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6507, p. 691.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6508, p. 692.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6509, p. 693.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6510, p. 694.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6511, p. 695.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6512, p. 696.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6513, p. 697.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6514, p. 698.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6515, p. 699.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6516, p. 700.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6517, p. 701.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6518, p. 702.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6519, p. 703.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6520, p. 704.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6521, p. 705.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6522, p. 706.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6523, p. 707.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6524, p. 708.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6525, p. 709.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6526, p. 710.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6527, p. 711.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6528, p. 712.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6529, p. 713.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6530, p. 714.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6531, p. 715.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6532, p. 716.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6533, p. 717.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6534, p. 718.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6535, p. 719.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6536, p. 720.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6537, p. 721.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6538, p. 722.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6539, p. 723.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6540, p. 724.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6541, p. 725.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6542, p. 726.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6543, p. 727.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6544, p. 728.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6545, p. 729.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6546, p. 730.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6547, p. 731.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6548, p. 732.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6549, p. 733.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6550, p. 734.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6551, p. 735.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6552, p. 736.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6553, p. 737.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6554, p. 738.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6555, p. 739.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6556, p. 740.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6557, p. 741.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6558, p. 742.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6559, p. 743.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6560, p. 744.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6561, p. 745.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6562, p. 746.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6563, p. 747.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6564, p. 748.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6565, p. 749.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6566, p. 750.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6567, p. 751.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6568, p. 752.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6569, p. 753.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6570, p. 754.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6571, p. 755.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6572, p. 756.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6573, p. 757.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6574, p. 758.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6575, p. 759.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6576, p. 760.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6577, p. 761.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6578, p. 762.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6579, p. 763.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6580, p. 764.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6581, p. 765.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6582, p. 766.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6583, p. 767.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6584, p. 768.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6585, p. 769.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6586, p. 770.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6587, p. 771.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6588, p. 772.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6589, p. 773.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6590, p. 774.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6591, p. 775.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6592, p. 776.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6593, p. 777.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6594, p. 778.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6595, p. 779.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6596, p. 780.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6597, p. 781.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6598, p. 782.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6599, p. 783.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6600, p. 784.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6601, p. 785.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6602, p. 786.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6603, p. 787.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6604, p. 788.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6605, p. 789.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6606, p. 790.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6607, p. 791.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6608, p. 792.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6609, p. 793.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6610, p. 794.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6611, p. 795.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6612, p. 796.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6613, p. 797.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6614, p. 798.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6615, p. 799.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6616, p. 800.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6617, p. 801.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6618, p. 802.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6619, p. 803.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6620, p. 804.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6621, p. 805.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6622, p. 806.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6623, p. 807.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6624, p. 808.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6625, p. 809.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6626, p. 810.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6627, p. 811.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6628, p. 812.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6629, p. 813.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6630, p. 814.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6631, p. 815.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6632, p. 816.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6633, p. 817.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6634, p. 818.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6635, p. 819.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6636, p. 820.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6637, p. 821.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6638, p. 822.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6639, p. 823.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6640, p. 824.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6641, p. 825.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6642, p. 826.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6643, p. 827.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6644, p. 828.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6645, p. 829.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6646, p. 830.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6647, p. 831.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6648, p. 832.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6649, p. 833.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6650, p. 834.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6651, p. 835.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6652, p. 836.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6653, p. 837.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6654, p. 838.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6655, p. 839.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6656, p. 840.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6657, p. 841.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6658, p. 842.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6659, p. 843.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6660, p. 844.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6661, p. 845.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6662, p. 846.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6663, p. 847.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6664, p. 848.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6665, p. 849.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6666, p. 850.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6667, p. 851.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6668, p. 852.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6669, p. 853.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6670, p. 854.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6671, p. 855.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6672, p. 856.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6673, p. 857.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6674, p. 858.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6675, p. 859.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6676, p. 860.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6677, p. 861.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6678, p. 862.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6679, p. 863.20–3 (on the same); *AM* 6680, p

in Tarasios' biographer. Ignatius the Deacon, Constantine VI appointed as "guard" over Tarasios after the emperor's second marriage in September 795.⁶⁴ While Ignatius seems to have disliked these syncelli (perhaps, as Tarasios' student, Ignatius thought he had a better claim to be a syncellus than they did), the implication that they were hostile to Tarasios is obviously part of Ignatius' misrepresentation of the patriarch as a staunch opponent of Constantine's remarriage. Ignatius' only accusations against the syncelli are that they were much less pious than Tarasios and that anyone who wanted an audience with the patriarch had to make an appointment with them first. The first charge is too vague to have much force, while the latter must have been standard practice, because the patriarch would naturally have been a busy man.

In contrast to the balanced treatment of other contemporary emperors and patriarchs in the *Chronography*, its account of the emperor Nicephorus I, known from other sources to be capable, orthodox, and merciful ruler, is so wildly defamatory as to discredit itself. The emperor's many financial measures are attributed solely to greed and malice, and he is personally accused of every sin from cruelty, treachery, and hypocrisy to heresy, sorcery, and homosexuality.⁶⁵ The reason for such an excess of venom is probably to be found in a plot to replace Nicephorus with a certain Arsaber the Patrician that was detected in February 808. Arsaber himself was tonsured and exiled to a monastery in Bithynia.⁶⁶ The *Chronography* records that among the other plotters who were whipped and exiled and lost their property, unidentified was the patriarch's syncellus, who is not named.

The obvious possibility that this syncellus was George becomes a probability when we take into account the date of February 808 for the discovery of the conspiracy and the punishment of the conspirators.⁶⁷ George tells us that he began writing his *Selection of chronography* during the year that ran from September 807 to August 808, and that he planned to describe the persecution of the Christians in the caliphate that had started during that year. If we allow time for news of the persecution in Syria to reach Constantinople, George can hardly have started writing before February 808. That was the month when the syncellus who had been deposed as a conspirator began his exile, and therefore found himself with ample leisure to write a chronicle denouncing the emperor who had exiled him. The close correspondence between the dates is unlikely to be a coincidence.

If George like his fellow conspirator Arsaber, was exiled to a monastery in Bithynia, this would also solve an otherwise puzzling problem: how George became a "close friend" of Theophanes, abbot of the Bithynian monastery of Megas Agros (the "Great Field"). Before that time George seems to have resided in Constantinople ever since his arrival from Palestine around 783, while Theophanes spent the years from 780 to 815 as a monk in a monastery on an island in the Sea of Marmara and then, from about 786, as

abbot of Megas Agros. The two men might of course have met before 808, for example at the Council of Nicaea in 787, which Theophanes reportedly attended. Yet before the dying George entrusted his can work to Theophanes, and Theophanes reluctantly agreed to finish it because of the closeness of their friendship, the two men must have become familiar with each other during some time when they lived near each other. The only opportunity for such an acquaintance seems to have been after 808. If the place where George was exiled in 808 was Megas Agros, he would naturally have become well acquainted with its abbot.

In May 811, just before the emperor Nicephorus left on the ill-fated campaign against the Bulgars that ended with his death, the *Chronography* states that he ordered new taxes levied on churches, monasteries, and state officials. This may well be a hostile reference to the special contributions to the emperor's campaigns from churches, monasteries, and state officials that seem already to have become customary by this date.⁶⁸ The chronicler, who is apparently George, declares that an imperial official, the patrician Theodosius Salibaras, warned the emperor of the extreme unpopularity of these requisitions, only to receive the haughty reply, "If God has hardened my heart like Pharaoh's, what good shall there be for those under my rule?" The chronicler then insists, "These words, I call the Lord to witness, I myself, the writer, heard from Theodosius from his lips while he was still alive."⁶⁹ Theodosius also died on the Bulgarian expedition.

Although the emperor is unlikely to have made such an outrageous statement, which was conveniently unverifiable after he and Salibaras had both been killed, the writer could not credibly have claimed to have heard it from Salibaras if the two men had never even met at the time. Their conversation can scarcely have been a social one, since the chronicler hated Salibaras, whom he describes as a loyal henchman of Nicephorus who was responsible for mistreating the deposed empress Irene.⁷⁰ Perhaps the answer is that Salibaras was sent by Nicephorus to collect the requisitions from the monastery where the chronicler was, probably Megas Agros. There Salibaras, after hearing the monks' protest, tried to defend himself by saying that he too had protested to the emperor but had failed to move him. (The reference to Pharaoh could be an embellishment, either by Salibaras or by George, unless the emperor had a dry sense of humor that they failed to appreciate.) Even if both George and Theophanes heard what Salibaras said, the insistence in the text that the hearer was "the writer" seems to identify him as George, because Theophanes professed to have added nothing of his own to the chronicle.⁷¹

65. Cf. Const. VII, *Three treatises*, pp. 94–6 (for the date of the requisitions, said to go back to the eighth century) and 100 (for the churches, monasteries, and officials).

66. Theoph. AM 6303, pp. 489, 25–490, 4.

67. *Ibid.* AM 6303, pp. 489, 28–30 and 491, 7–8. On Theodosius, see *PmbZ*, Theodosius #7869. At Theoph. AM 6301, p. 486, 2, Theodosius' reported title of ἀποστολόμενος is almost certainly corrupt (cf. Mango – Scott, p. 667 n. 16; perhaps we should emend to ἀποστολόμενος, in any event, Theodosius could have held a different office two years later, in 811).

68. Mango – Scott, pp. lix–lx suggest that "the writer" might also have been someone else whose report George (or Theophanes) copied at this point; but, though George must have depended on an eyewitness for his account of the Bulgarian campaign, for such a recent event his source was probably oral, while the identification of "I myself, the writer" is obviously meant to emphasize that in this case his knowledge was first-hand.

64. *Chron. 23* of Tarasios (signed w. 35), chapters 46–47; for the date of the marriage, see Mango, *op. cit.* p. 175 n. 2. If John the Mercator, as in *Life of Tarasios*, chapter 43, had previously married Tarasios' daughter (cf. n. 33 above), these syncelli were apparently John's successors.

65. Theoph. AM 6303, pp. 489, 25–26 (for heresy and sorcery) and 491, 26–8 (for homosexuality).

66. *Ibid.* AM 6303, pp. 489, 25–26, 2.

67. The suggestion that the syncellus of George was one suggested by Mango. Who wrote the *Chronography* is Mango – Scott, p. liii, but without noting the correspondence

Chronography, surely George may well have contributed a few materials to Theophanes' Chronography based there in his narrative from 781 to 813 and in his translation and commentary of Theophanes.

George's narrative from 781 to 813 deserves particular attention, since it is our only surviving narrative account of these years. It is a work of some length—almost fifty pages in the 1903 edition of Theophanes' *Chronography*. It has seldom been thought of as a single work, since a few scholars have considered it a composite of disparate materials and some of the text has been considered it as an integral part of Theophanes' *Chronography* as a whole. If we look only at its starting date, we could think of it as a continuation of either of two late histories that ended around 780, both of them continuations of other late histories: the continuation of the chronicle of Theophylus of Edessa from about 750 to 780, probably by George himself, and the continuation of the chronicle of Trajan the Patrician from about 721 to 781.

Elsewhere I have already discussed at some length both the *Concise chronicle* of Trajan the Patrician and its continuations.⁷⁴ Trajan's chronicle, attested by both Theophanes and Nicephorus, appears to be the common source of Theophanes and Nicephorus up to 720 and was itself continued from about 721 to 781. Although both Theophanes and Nicephorus also used Trajan's continuator, the division between the material from Trajan and the material from his continuator is clear, because up to 720 both Theophanes and Nicephorus praise Leo III, while after 720 both condemn Leo for his Iconoclasm. The continuator of Trajan also seems to have been used by Nicephorus in two of his historical works, by a certain John the Monk in a contemporary account of the Council of Nicaea in 787, by the anonymous author of the now-fragmentary *Great chronography* around the same date, and by the chronicler George the Monk around 875. All of these sources apparently include additional fragments of the continuator of Trajan, which would be well worth collecting ideally in a comprehensive collection of fragmentary Byzantine histories of the middle period.

The ending date of the continuation of Trajan's chronicle is less obvious than the starting date, because the parallel between Theophanes and Nicephorus only extend to 781 when Nicephorus' chronicle ends. Yet such a strongly anti-iconoclast source could surely have been circulated until after the accession of Irene in 780, and Theophanes' *Chronography* continues to display the same characteristics from 769 to 781: opposition to Iconoclasm, accurate internal dates, learned allusions, distinctive stylistic peculiarities, and a detailed knowledge of the workings of the administration. Perhaps the best indication that the continuator ended with 781 is that a passage in Theophanes dates the beginning of Iconoclasm to that year, as if the author was unaware that Iconoclasm would become a serious issue for several years longer. Moreover, the entry for 781 states that in that year 'The pious [iconophiles] began to speak freely,' while the entry for 783 says 'From that time forward the matter of the holy and sacred icons began to be

discussed and disputed freely by all'.⁷⁵ The use in both passages of terms of the same word for free speech (παρρησία) sharpen the contradiction, showing the change from one author writing around 781 to another later author who differed with his predecessor about when the free discussion of icons had started.

Although the identification of the continuator of Trajan as the future patriarch Tarasius cannot be considered absolutely conclusive, it fits the characteristics of the continuation very well.⁷⁶ Tarasius is known to have composed many anti-iconoclast writings. At a date when Iconoclasm was still official doctrine and real erudition was rare, the continuator was iconophile, intelligent, and well-educated, able to make appropriate allusions to Thucydides, Procopius, the Greek myths, and the Bible. The continuator is also perhaps our Byzantine historian with the best knowledge of official statistics, including figures for various state expenditures and naval expeditions, several of our few known food prices, and one of our rare totals for the official establishment of the Byzantine army. Such information appears to derive from the state archives, which until 784 Tarasius supervised as protoascretis, head of the imperial chancery. In fact, only an official like Tarasius who enjoyed Irene's full confidence could have dared as early as 781 to denounce Iconoclasm, the doctrine of three generations of the still-reigning dynasty and one of Irene's relatives, Bessarion Sarantapechus, whose closeness to the dynasty presumably explains Irene's being chosen as the bride of Leo IV.

Contrary to what some scholars have recently asserted, the continuator of Trajan had no plausible motive for fabricating or even for exaggerating the Iconoclasm of Leo III, Constantine V, and Leo IV.⁷⁷ Writing under Constantine VI and Irene in 781, the continuator had a powerful motive to *minimize* the iconoclast measures of these emperors, in order to avoid undermining the reputation of the dynasty and to make the restoration of icons less traumatic. In 781 Irene was in a situation similar to that of the iconophile empress Theodora in 842, who invented a story that her iconoclast husband Theophilus had repented on his deathbed. Unfortunately for Irene and the continuator of Trajan, in 781 everyone knew that Leo III and Constantine V had died iconoclasts, and systematic falsification of their acts was impossible. Already in 780 Irene's partisans seem to have invented a story depicting the suspicious death of her iconoclast husband Leo IV as divine punishment.⁷⁸

The erudition, precision, and intelligence of the continuation of Trajan from 721 to 781 evidently served as a model for its own continuation, the account of the years from 781 to 813 in Theophanes' *Chronography*. If George Syncellus wrote the account of the years from 781 to 813 in the *Chronography*, was he continuing his own continuation

74. Cf. Theoph. AM 6273, p. 455.8–9 (παρρησιάζεσθαι), and AM 6276, p. 458.5–6 (παρρησία).

75. Here I summarize my arguments in TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 17–20.

76. The culmination of this effort, which began with a series of highly speculative studies by Paul Speck, now appears in L. BRUNAUER and J. HATTON, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era, c. 680–850: A history*, Cambridge 2011.

77. See W. TREADGOLD, An indirectly preserved source for the reign of Leo IV, *JÖB* 34, 1984, pp. 69–76. When I wrote that article, I assumed that the conjectural *Life of Theophanes the Cubicularius* (died 780) was a direct source of Theophanes' *Chronography* around 814. Perhaps more likely is that the source of the *Chronography* for the conjectural *Life* was the continuation of Trajan, which like the *Life* was written around 781, quite possibly by Tarasius. Note how well the passages that seem to come from the *Life* are integrated into the rest of the narrative of the *Chronography*.

78. Further support for the *Chronography* then may be attributable to George, see TREADGOLD, *Byzantine historians*, pp. 30 and n. 150.

79. Cf. TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 8–17 (on Trajan) and 17–26 (on the continuator of Trajan and his sources). Detail on Trajan, W. TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician: *Chronicle and Theophanes as Public Spokesman and Intellectual*, *Oriens: Festschrift für Stephen Geiser*, Leiden 2011, pp. 589–621.

George arrived in Constantinople, within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem. George moved to Constantinople, within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, who in this time was already distancing himself from Iconoclasm, of which George disapproved. No doubt as a native of northern Syria George found the language and customs of Constantinople less familiar than those of Palestine, but he must have had a working knowledge of Greek and presumably preferred the rule of Christian emperors to that of the increasingly anti-Christian Muslim caliphs. He would surely have said that all the Chalcedonian patriarchates belonged to the single Orthodox Church of which he was a member.

George also appears to have been involved in relations between the patriarchates. He became a vicar of the patriarch Tarasius, and probably also of the patriarch Nicephorus. We have seen that George may well have come to Constantinople around 785 as an informal envoy of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, with which he had probably dealt earlier as a representative of the monastery of St. Chariton. Whether or not he took part in the Council of Nicaea as the anonymous author of the letter from the East, as a patriarchal vicar, or as both, George was surely pleased that the council ratified the veneration of icons. George seems to have thought he could serve the interests of the church best by remaining in Constantinople, where he continued to be aware of the offerings of the Melkite Christians of Syria. He also enjoyed a generally successful ecclesiastical career as a theologist. He evidently participated in a plot against the emperor Nicephorus, and when it failed was exiled for three and a half years; but he took advantage of his exile to begin his ambitious world chronicle. Though death prevented him from finishing it himself, with the help of his friend Theophanes he left a grand summation of Greek and Syriac historiography which his experience had uniquely fitted him to prepare.

THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR AND THEOPHANES THE CHRONICLER, OR, A STORY OF SQUARE BRACKETS

by Constantin ZUCKERMAN

Indeed, if the author's identity had not been stated in the title and corroborated by later testimony, one might have been tempted to suggest that the *Chronicle* was due to another Theophanes, not the Confessor and abbot of Agros. Cyril Mango, in *Mango – Scott*, p. 1-11.

The entry dated to the year of creation 6177 (AD 684/5) in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes is almost entirely dedicated to the Definitions of a Church council later called in *Tridilo* or the Quinisext. This entry has long been branded as a foreign body. Both Karl de Boor in his edition of the Greek text and Cyril Mango in his English translation print it in square brackets.¹ The entry ends, incontestably, with a short interpolation, easy to identify by its content, embracing a period down to the Triumph of Orthodoxy (843), and by its absence in the Latin translation by Anastasius the Librarian. Why then the left square bracket, which should have marked the beginning of the interpolation about a line and a half before the entry's end, stands close to its beginning, thus secluding about a page and a half of the *Chronicle*? The answer, openly stated by Mango and his predecessors, is that the entry as a whole (the small explicit interpolation is totally immaterial in this respect) reflects positions and beliefs, which cannot be attributed to Theophanes the Confessor.

My first aim is to show that the entry, the short interpolation excepted, is authentic and essential for grasping the mind of the Chronicler. A better appraisal of this passage has a major bearing on our perception of the *Chronicle*, the Confessor's authorship becoming unlikely, or rather untenable. Strong arguments against his authorship have been arrayed by Cyril Mango who did not, however, dare the final step of rejecting it entirely. I will examine Mango's arguments as well as his alternative scenario, enhanced in a recent study by Warren Treadgold, which consists in shifting nearly all the responsibility for

1. Theoph., pp. 361-2; transl. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 504-5.

the *Chronicle* to George Syncellus. As the discrepancies between the biographical data of Theophanes the Confessor, unusually abundant in his two well-informed *Lives*, and the general data of the *Chronicle*, as reflected in his text, grow in number and gravity, suggesting these come at an ever-increasing cost. Shifting the authorship to Syncellus does nothing what the *Chronicle* has to say in his Preface about himself and his work, while the quest of consultation between two authors, as exemplified in a recent attempt by Panayotis Yannopoulos, does not produce a coherent result. I shall strive to convince my reader that distinguishing Theophanes the Confessor from the *Chronicle*, perhaps the named Theophanes, — while keeping George Syncellus, author of his own *Chronography*, outside the picture — would be the only fruitful way to study and thus not distort characters as well as the *Chronicle* itself.

1. RECONSTRUCTING THE 6177 ENTRY, COUNCIL IN TRULLO

(An interpolated entry, as most)

The entry for the year 6177 contains the only late interpolation in the text of the *Chronicle* — a fact equally apparent for a medieval and a modern reader. The list of the patriarchs of Constantinople at the end of the entry goes all the way down to John, here nicknamed *Grammaticus* (after dined with a basin?), better known as Grammaticus, whose deposition by Emperor Theodosius in March 843 marked the final triumph of the iconoclasts. But intelligent readers would figure out that an iconodule confessor who died in the last years of the second iconoclasm could by no means have drawn a complete list of the immediate patriarchs. This could be the reason why five related codices of Theophanes mark the entry as a *replacé*.⁴

What is unusual for us could not know but we do, is that the same list of patriarchs has a different ending in the Latin translation of the *Chronicle* by Anastasius the Librarian. There is no just down to Patriarch Tarasius, deceased in February 806 and credited, with one & a half approximation, with twenty-one years in office.⁵ Thus, Anastasius' source listed a series of patriarchs that was put together under Tarasius' reign. Theophanes, 906–15, in the very same years as the *Chronicle*'s composition, adds the rest part of the list was appended at a later date, the entry as a whole being very contemporary with the *Chronicle*.

Given the existing ideological coincidence, Mango asserts in his commentary that the entry is a whole not an original part of the *Chronicle* and that it found its way into it by force. While admitting that it is perhaps misleading to speak of a *replacé*, he suggests "that we have here part of a polemical tract, which an absent-minded copier of some of the *Chronicle* thought fit to include without realizing its polemical intention." This intention is defined by Mango as iconoclastic. The polemical tract was presumably composed "shortly after 806" (i.e., after the death of

Tarasius), inserted in the *Chronicle* by a hypothetical editor or scribe who found it among Theophanes' papers, and later interpolated with the additional list of patriarchs.⁶

This reconstruction implies that one and the same yearly entry of the *Chronicle* was hit, purely by chance, by two unrelated intrusions in its text. What is more, it would suggest that a devoted icon-worshipper, Theophanes the Confessor, kept among his papers, apparently in the form of notes he took, elements of iconoclast propaganda. In a much more intricate scheme, Panayotis Yannopoulos distinguishes in the "scholion" at least four, but possibly as many as six successive authors.⁷ Seeing no logic in these multiple divisions, I will argue that the whole original entry and the small actual gloss (the last four patriarchs on the list) belong each to a single author and can only be interpreted as such.

2. No iconoclast, but a staunch opponent of the Council in Trullo

If the iconoclastic bias of the entry for the year 6177 could be proven, this would rule out its attribution to the author of the *Chronicle*, whose adherence to icons is often stated. The entry's contents reveal no sign of an opposition to icons, however, while showing a different ideological agenda, more original and surprising.

The entry starts with a short announcement that "the pious emperor Constantine" died that year (6177) and his son Justinian succeeded him on the throne. This notice of less than two lines would have been the entire "original" entry. Then the very first sentence of the supposed "scholion" states in a concise but most explicit way the author's main point that he later supports with lengthy arguments: Ἀπτόν ὅτι μάτην ληροδῶς φλυαροῦσιν τινες λέγοντες μετὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη γεγονέναι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς φημιζομένους τῆς ἑκτῆς συνόδου κεφαλαιώδεις τύπους. Mango translates: "It should be noted that those who maintain that the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council (which they make much of) were issued four years later are chattering in vain." One could gain the impression that the author contests the Definitions of the Sixth Council. Since, however, he speaks a few lines below of "the holy ecumenical Sixth Council," it would have been most inconsistent on his part to deny authority to a document it issued. The verb φημιζω can better be rendered as "call, name" (LSJ) and the sentence translated: "It should be noted that those who maintain that what they call the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council were issued four years later [after Justinian II's accession, C.Z.] are chattering in vain." The author's point is to show that the document, which is falsely presented as the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council, stands in no relation to this venerable assembly.

Scholars have long noticed that the unnamed opponents, whom the author castigates in no uncertain terms, were the Fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787. In a lively debate at the 4th session of the Council, none other than Patriarch Tarasius

4. Mango in MASTRO – SCOTT, p. lxxviii (speaking of a scholion), and p. 805, n. 4. Mango's interpretation of the passage is adopted by E. BOUTET, *La réception du concilio Quiniscentum (691–692) nelle fonti occidentali (VII–IX se.) : diritto, arte, teologia*, Paris 2011, pp. 98–99.

5. P. YANNOPOULOS, Συμπληρωματικές παρατηρήσεις στο περί της Ηεσθίας, συνόδου τριβόλου κείμενο στη Χρονογραφία του Θεοφάνη, Βυζαντινός λόγος 15, 2006, pp. 15–29 (distinguishing four or five hands in the "scholion"); i.e., *Theophanes de Syraque* (quoted n. 3), pp. 284–6 (from six hands).

6. Mango in MASTRO – SCOTT, p. 506.

7. P. YANNOPOULOS, *Ο Θεοφάνης ο Συναγώνης*, 1^η έκδ., Θεσσαλονίκη 2003, pp. 11–12. The passage by P. YANNOPOULOS, *Theophanes de Syraque le Confesseur*, *Revue de Théologie*, 2003, p. 286, according to which "la source de l'insertion finale est due au même théologien" is misleading: in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, and also in the *Chronography* of Syncellus.

This surprising new chronology not only moves the Council in *Trullo* away from the main Ecumenical Council, it also brings it very close, within a five-years range, of a synod that took place in the first year of Emperor Philippicus (711) and that attempted to reverse the decisions of the Sixth Council by restoring Monothelitism. Our author calculates that that council in *Trullo* had actually gathered in the second year of Patriarch Cyrus deposed

The argument for attributing the entry to an iconoclast is based in part on its unusual presentation of Germanus, the future patriarch of Constantinople and valiant defender of icons under the first Iconoclasm, here featured as a member of the "inner synod against the holy ecumenical Sixth Council." As we have seen, the author's aim was denouncing this heretical synod, a bleak spot in Germanus' career, rather than denigrating the person of the future patriarch. But my main point is that the *Chronicle* entry for the first year of Philippicus (AM 6204—AD 711/2), largely dedicated to the synod and never suspected of being interpolated, is not any kinder to Germanus—or to Andrew of Crete, another major "orthodox" figure of the first Iconoclasm who was tainted in Philippicus' period—than the supposed "scholion." In fact, the entries for 6177 and 6204 were clearly drawn by one and the same hand. Both decry the emperor's insane assault against the Sixth Council (τοῦ τοῦ πρώτου ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου γενέσθαι ἐναντὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας οἰκουμένης ἐκτῆς συνόδου 6177; Φιλίππου δὲ οὐκ ᾔσχεσθαι ἐναντὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμένης ἐκτῆς συνόδου 6204), both mention the eventual eviction of Patriarch Cyrus, and denounce prominent Church figures who subscribed to this policy.

Γερμανόν αὖ τὸν μετὰ τούτῳ τὸν θάνατον
 Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατασχέτω ἐπιστάτην
 τὸ πρῶτον καὶ παραχρᾶς ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
 ἀπόρρην καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην ἀποστήσῃ
 [...] καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκαστοῦτος ἐκείνης
 αἱ ἐγγράφοι ἀνελευθέρως πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
 εἰσέλθον (αὐτ. 6204).

My last remark concerns the place of the Council in *Trullo* in the *Chronicle*. One could expect it to duly commemorate this major event in the history of the Church. Yet, as pointed out by Paul Speck, the Council is absent in the appropriate chronological setting, under AM 6199 or 6200. Its advance dismissal in the entry for AM 6177 prepares the reader for this gap.¹⁶ If we consider this entry to have been inserted by a later editor, should we also assume that this editor struck down the *Chronicle* passage describing the Council in *Trullo* in an "orthodox" manner? Such assumptions stretch the imagination too far. It is not impossible that the Chronicler, in re-reading his text, felt the need to explain the lack of mention of the Council in *Trullo* and added his explanation in form of a gloss introduced by ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστι. Also in this case though the explanation would belong to the Chronicler himself.

^a *Caulis* = *scutellarioides* L. 60(1)2 in *Folia hederæ officinalium* (Quinisextum), ed.
J. Thierckert, ed. P. Dreyer and C. R. Kohn (Ed.), p. 2, 71, Berlin - New York 2013.

10. P. SPECK, *Der "zweite" Theophrastus: eine These zur Chronographie des Theophrastus*, *Philologus* 149 (1994), pp. 431–83, ser. pp. 480–1.

choice is about: that the rejection of the Council in Trullo belongs to the person who composed the *Chronicle* and not to a later editor, one can no longer attribute this attitude to our iconoclastic leanings. Whoever composed the *Chronicle* was a staunch supporter of icons, and this is not a point that I need to argue. This was, no doubt, the reason why Cyril Mango described the hypothetical editor as "absent-minded." If he were an iconoclast himself, he would have dumped the *Chronicle* en bloc, since no cosmetic corrections (which do not even refer to icons) would be able to attenuate its anti-iconoclastic bias. If, however, he was an iconodule, why force into the text some polemical zides, incidentally irreverent toward prominent defenders of icons? I do not see how any scenario involving an editor can be made coherent.

In explaining the author's position I would suggest not going beyond what he actually says. He has a strong issue with the Council in Trullo and denounces its advocates both for their general view of ecumenicity as the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council (ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὐνοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) and for their specific reckoning of the date (ἀποδείξοντες καὶ ἐν τῇ αἰσθητικῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀποδείξοντες) disproven by the author's precise chronological calculation (ἀποδείξοντες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποδείξει) cited above. I should emphasize, however, that in engaging his opponents, our author does not name them, either as the Fathers of the Seventh Council or as Patriarch Tarasius (who had formulated the contested argument) in person. This would be hard to explain if he contested the Seventh Council as such, not just on the particular issue of the Council in Trullo.

The unnamed members of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, who had misgivings over some of its rulings, could state them openly. Thus, twenty years after the Council, Theodore the Studite recognizes its decision to reinstall bishops ordained by iconoclasts as impossible, and it taken by Patriarch Tarasius for a fee—as anticonciliar; he has a hard time explaining why he did not speak out against it at the time. Theodore cites at length the *praxis* of Rome, according to which this Council was not ecumenical in its composition and was only declared as such to convince the heretical people to give up iconoclasm (*Chronicle*). Theodore would have been the last to attack the Seventh Council on its own dogmatic position.

There is no indication that our author's criticism of the Seventh Council goes beyond a recognition of the Council in Trullo, while his reasons for rejecting the latter seem to be of the order of Church discipline rather than dogma. He produces two quotations from canon 5 of the 647 entry, the first containing the date that supports his chronological demonstration (above), and the second irrelevant for his argument. This second quotation, introduced by "and further down" (καὶ περὶ ἑτέροις), reads as follows: "Those who, after their ordination, have contracted one illegal marriage, that is presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, and have already been debarred for a short time from the holy things and sacraments, shall be reinstated in their respective ranks, but shall on no account be promoted to a higher rank. Their illegal union shall, of course, have been dissolved." This quote articulates the most shocking decision of the Council in Trullo: the reinstatement of clergy who remained in violation of the Church discipline. The Fathers

gathered in Trullo were aware of the gravity of this measure. They presented it as an act of *oikonomia*, taken at the emperor's personal request, in contradiction to the preference of the most holy Church of Rome for the strict observation of the canons, and as a one-time case of leniency never to be repeated.¹² Yet, our author does not quote their excuses, only the outrageous ruling itself. I see no reason for him to add the second quote other than to explain his rejection of the Council.

Keeping a grudge against the Council in Trullo over a century after it took place is a singular phenomenon. Despite the fact that this council authorized the worst violation of the canon law in the history of Byzantine Church, we have no evidence of opposition to it in Byzantium.¹³ I will not speculate, therefore, whether its rejection by the *Chronicle* represented his personal stance or attested a wider stream within the Church. What I would not doubt, however, is that the chronological argument to the detriment of the Council's authority belongs to the author himself. It is grounded in an erroneous calculation based on a confusion of two eras, which, however false, was surely sincere. Thus, it could have only been produced by a person who believed the Alexandrian era to be the only theologically sound one (like George Syncellus) or who had spent a few years converting into this era a wide array of chronological indications (like our *Chronicle*). In this respect, the author of the entry for the year 6477, if he is not the author of the *Chronicle*, looks like his twin brother.

This argument would suffice for rejecting the complex scheme proposed by Yannopoulos, in which the "scholion" becomes a joint creation of at least four successive Studite editors. Why would Studite monks take for granted that the Fathers gathered in Trullo had employed the exotic Alexandrian era, not in use in Constantinople? What is more, the conjecture of a "Studite" edition of the *Chronicle* represented by an early manuscript, Paris, gr. 1710, has been refuted by Cyril Mango. Introduced by Boris L. Fonkijč and developed by Yannopoulos,¹⁴ it does not take into account the *Chronicle*'s consistent distaste of the Studites. Their revered abbot Theodore is depicted first as a schismatic and then as the chief among the evil counselors (κακοὶ σύμβουλοι), guilty of Emperor Nicephorus' defeat and death.¹⁵ The Paris, gr. 1710, produced not before the late 850s,¹⁶ did not come out of Studion—had it happened into a Studite's hands, it would have ended up in a stove.

12. *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2* (quoted n. 8), pp. 25–6; cf. BRUNS, *La questione* (quoted n. 4), pp. 210–1.

13. On the initial rejection of the Council in Trullo by Rome and on its possible reasons which are all modern speculations, the *Liber Pontificalis* being vague on the subject, see H. ONST, *Die sogenannten "antirömischen" Kanones des Concilium Quinisextum (692): Vereinheitlichung als Gefahr für die Einheit der Kirche*, in *The Council in Trullo revisited*, ed. by G. Nedungatt, M. Featherstone, Roma 1995, pp. 307–21.

14. See P. YANNOPOULOS, *Une note sur la date du Parisinus gr. 1710*, in *Μουσούβης: Κ 60-ετησίως* (B. Φωκιάδης: ἀπομνημονεύματα καὶ ἐκδοχὲς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ μεσαιωνικῆς γραμματικῆς, Μόσχα 2001), pp. 27–30.

15. Theoph. AM 6298, p. 481 and AM 6305, p. 498, respectively; cf. C. Mango, *The Life of St. Theodore of Chora and the Chronicle of Theophanes*, in *Captain and scholar: papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, ed. by E. Chrysos and E. A. Zachariadou, Andros 2009, pp. 183–94, on p. 192.

16. The manuscript contains the interpolated list of patriarchs after Tarasius, which, despite its apparent precision—John Grammaticus is allotted six years and one month—is actually very approximate, calculated a posteriori by a person who lacked exact data on the duration of the patriarchal terms, including the last one, see my *Two notes on the early history of the theme of Cherson*, *BMGS* 21, 1997, pp. 210–22, on p. 211, with n. 7. See also F. Rosca in this volume.

II. THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR AND GEORGE SYNOCELLUS

C. The Preface to the *Chronicle*: the "materials"

Cyril Mango, whose groundbreaking research shaped the perception of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes in the last generation, was the first to point out the incompatibility between the biographical data of Theophanes the Confessor, as presented in his *Life*, and the elements of the author's biography, as revealed by the *Chronicle* itself. The solution he proposed, first in an article published in 1979 and then in the introduction to the English translation of the *Chronicle* (1997), consisted in shifting the lion's share of authorial responsibility for the work to George Syncellus, while reducing the input of Theophanes the Confessor to the bare minimum: "fill[ing] in certain gaps and verify[ing] certain chronological calculations."²¹ Autobiographical elements in the text that would not fit the Confessor could thus be related to George. This line of reasoning has been taken over by Warren Treadgold in the chapter dedicated to both writers in his recent monograph on the middle-byzantine historians;²² on many points Treadgold goes way beyond Mango's cautious remarks.

Both scholars naturally focalize on the Preface to the *Chronicle*, in which the author talks about his work, presenting it as a continuation of an ambitious historiographical project initiated by "the most blessed Father George, who had also been *synkellos* of *Tamara*, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople."²³ The author goes on to describe, with much praise, the compendium that we know as the *Chronography* of George Syncellus. Then he points out that George, "overtaken by the end of his life," "was unable to bring his plan to completion" (ἐν τῇ πύλῃ, ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ σκοπόν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν); we are not told what this plan was.

In order to discover George's design we need to consult his own introduction, which our author may have had in mind when composing his Preface. There, George states his aim to bring up his historical narrative to the point in present when he starts his work, on 6300 (March 25, 807 – March 24, 808), in the first indiction (September 1, 807 – August 31, 808).²⁴ Yet, as pointed out in the Preface to the *Chronicle* in conformity with the second column of the *Chronography*, George did not live to pursue further than Diocletian's rise to power. More than five centuries of history still needed to be filled in.

George's desire explains our author's involvement in the project. As he states in the Preface (in Mango's translation), George, on his deathbed, "both bequeathed to me, who was his close friend (παρὸν καὶ γνησίον, φίλον), the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing" (καὶ ἀπορηρῶς παρέσχε τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὰ ὑλικά). The author explains that he attempted to decline the task that was above his powers, but was constrained by his obedience to his friend (ἀνταγχασθέντες, but the second antecedent is unclear; it never fails). With no false modesty, he describes the extent of his engagement: "I expended an uncommon amount of labor. For I, too, after walking out to the bed of my father and examining many books, have written down

accurately—at least I could—the chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael and his son Theophylaktos, namely the reigns [of the emperors] and the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates." He adds that in performing his research, he "did not set down anything of [his] own composition (οὐδέν ἑαυτῶν συντάξοντες), but ha[s] made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and ha[s] consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion."

Cyril Mango's translation of ἀπορηρῶς as (written) "materials" for completing George's historiographical project has been largely accepted by scholars, most recently by Anthony Kaldellis.²⁵ This translation has led to far-reaching conclusions, well resumed by Robert Hoyland: "It is not obvious what were the *apothymai* that George had pressed upon Theophanes, but it has been argued convincingly by Mango that they constituted almost the whole of what goes under the name of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, and that Theophanes himself did little beyond a certain amount of redaction and the verification of some facts and calculations."²⁶ The author's description of his own contribution in the Preface is implicitly dismissed as mere self-glorification.

The transfer of "materials" from George to Theophanes acquires absolute value in the study of Warren Treadgold, who mentions them several times (cf. below) while taking a further step to exclude Theophanes from involvement in his own *Chronicle*. Treadgold's reasoning deserves to be presented verbatim. After having cited Theophanes' admission of having received from George "the materials to complete what was lacking," the scholar continues: "Theophanes claims then to have excerpted 'many [more] books' in order to bring the narrative down to the reign of the emperor Michael I, but to have added 'nothing of my own.' If taken literally, this last claim implies that Theophanes copied from someone else—whether George or another written source—even the final, contemporary portion of the *Chronography*, which ends with Michael I's abdication in August 813."²⁷

By adding the word "more" in square brackets, Treadgold creates a semblance of logical transition between Theophanes' alleged admission of having received "materials" from George and his eager description of his own research (without a word about his use of the "materials"). In this way, Theophanes' perusal of sources becomes complementary to George's. Moreover, Treadgold also attributes to Theophanes the recognition that he copied every word in his *Chronicle* from somebody else. This point is repeated several times over, first in the conditional ("if Theophanes really did add nothing of his own to the *Chronography*," p. 40), then as a fact ("because Theophanes professed to have added nothing of his own to the chronicle," p. 49); it serves as a proof for attributing the whole last part of the *Chronicle* to George Syncellus (p. 44). And yet, it is based on utter misstatement of what the Preface actually says. The author's claim to have added nothing of his own relates to his perusal of "ancient historiographers and writers" (κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγγραφέμεθα, οὐδέν ἑαυτῶν συντάξοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ιστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἐκτελεζόμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχμεν ἐκάστου χρόνου τίς πρόξει). The author of the Preface presents himself as the one who

21. A. KALDELLIS, Byzantine historical writing, 500–920, in *Oxford history of historical writing* 2, 400–1700, S. Foot and Ch. E. Robinson volume eds., Oxford 2012, pp. 201–17, on p. 212.

22. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, p. 430.

23. TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 39. In fact, Michael I abdicated on July 11, while Khan Krum's return to Bulgaria, with which the *Chronicle* ends, probably belongs in the early fall.

24. Mango, *Theophanes the Confessor*, p. 16.

25. KALDELLIS, *Byzantine historical writing*, pp. 34–37.

26. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 430–431, n. 100, pp. 1–2.

27. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 39. The beginning of the year on March 25.

In his numerous *vitae* Theophanes exercised his duty of manual labor for the benefit of the monastery by copying books. According to Methodius, with much effort he became skilled in calligraphy even though he had trouble mastering accentuation and spelling.¹⁰ Theodoret suggests optimistically that "after almost thirty years of copying manuscripts he had learned enough about history and literature that he could appreciate what George was trying to do and could make and keep the promise to continue it."¹¹ Theodoret, however, is longer due for Theophanes copying books was not an intellectual pursuit but a chore for the purpose of filling his monastery's chest. In his career as scribe he must have copied monastic Psalters and whatever liturgical books could find buyers in neighboring monasteries and churches. The chances of him copying an Eusebius or Gregory were nearly nonexistent. Theophanes' practice as a provincial monastic scribe could not compensate for his lack of education; rather, the latter necessarily restricted his scope of reading that he could take for recreation.

[illegible]

The notion of "materials," allegedly bequeathed by George Syncellus, strives to resolve this difficulty. Mango suggests that "Synkellos compiled a bulky dossier on the period from Diocletian to the Emperor Nikephoros (or even Michael I) and, shortly before his death, conveyed it to Theophanes for minor editing and publication." The *Chronicle* of Theophanes that we know is, essentially, this dossier: "a file (and a very poorly edited one at that) rather than a finished work."³⁸ The inability of Theophanes to improve on George's draft would not come as a surprise given his lack of literary skills. More surprisingly, in Mango's scenario, not only he did not (properly) edit the text—he did not publish it either. I remind the reader of the "absent-minded editor," whose intervention has been hypothesized as a way to explain the presence of the passage on the Council in *Trullo* (above). His intervention was made possible by the assumption that "Theophanes left nothing but a boxful of loose papers."³⁹ Publishing would have meant transcribing loose papers into a manuscript, and this is what, in the scheme discussed, Theophanes failed to do. Not only he deceived his deceased friend on all counts, he also claimed full credit in the Preface for what he, visibly, did not accomplish: composing "this history-book" (τάδε τὸ ἱστορικόν... συγγραμμήν) that a reader could read from beginning to end—which was certainly not the case with a box of loose notes. I will argue below that the author of the *Chronicle*, most likely, did not work with such notes.

c. Both main hagiographers of Theophanes the Confessor agree that he suffered in his last years from a debilitating kidney disease. According to Theodore the Studite, early in 815, when Emperor Leo V's iconoclastic turn became a matter of public knowledge and the icon-worshippers around Patriarch Nicephorus made an attempt to organize resistance, Theophanes was unable to move from his bed. When summoned by the emperor to the capital late in the year, he was brought there in a litter.¹⁷ Methodius, as is his habit, is more specific with dates. He indicates that Theophanes fell ill with kidney stones in his fiftieth year (809/10 according to the accepted chronology of his life) and since that time remained bedridden and immobile (κλινήρης τε καὶ ἀκίνητος) to the end of his days.¹⁸

38. Methodius, *Vita Theophrasti*, p. 27, §§ 43-4.

George Treadgold attributes the last part of the *Chronicon* down to its ending in 813 to George Synkellos, thus placing the transfer of the "materials" to Mango at Theophanes not before the end of 813.⁴² By that time Theophanes was an experienced monk in the bed and suffering from constant pain. What would have been his motivation for taking him out in this case for a task requiring library work and serious intellectual concentration? This question has less practical implications for Mango, who would not expect Theophanes to perform any real work, yet it is crucial in the scheme outlined by Treadgold, whose notion of the "materials" inherited by Theophanes is more compelling than Mango's. He mentions them many times (pp. 39, 40, etc.), but never in connection with historical works to peruse rather than as prefabricated parts of a work. The first among them is Theophanes' much debated Oriental source, which Treadgold suggests is a Syriac chronicle translated into Greek and updated by George Synkellos to provide a reliable "account of events in Constantinople from 781 to 813," composed by George as a sequel to his update of this chronicle (pp. 43 ff.), and then Treadgold speaks of the numerous "books that George owned" (p. 51, cf. 200) of "ecclesiastical history" (p. 60), of chronological tables that George "apparently" prepared for Theophanes (p. 70), in his scheme, however, the laborious perusal of the sources reported or indicated by George and their consolidation into a chronicle falls upon Theophanes' shoulders: the future Confessor was not, as we have seen, prepared to do so. For the challenge this is why Treadgold argues that he must have acquired some knowledge with him from his work as a copist. But what about his physical shape?

Unlike Mango, Treadgold needs to have Theophanes in a good working condition for a year or more after the transfer of the "materials" at the turn of 813–4 (assuming that the *Chronicon* could be composed in a year). Thus he observes that since "Theophanes makes no mention of his illness" in his Preface, which "probably dates from late 814 or early 815," his health condition could not be such as to prevent him "from doing the extensive research the historian would." Accordingly, Methodius' chronology is declared unreliable and "self-contradictory," since he "indicated that Theophanes became permanently handicapped with kidney disease in either 809/10 or 811/812."⁴³ This presentation is misleading and it is important to understand its origin.

Methodius provides only one chronological indication for Theophanes' disease resulting as outlined in the saint's birth year. He also gives two clear clues regarding Theophanes' birth year: Theophanes was in his 21st year, thus accomplishing his first "age" (of seven years) when Leo IV died (September 8, 780) and Irene came to power (chap. 11, p. 13). He was 57 years old, in the middle of his eighth "age" (that is, at his 54th year), on the accession of Leo V in July 813 (chap. 45, p. 28). These indications must be in agreement if Theophanes was born between mid-July and early September 781. The last of Theophanes' "epochs" is vaguely synchronized with the beginning of the reign of Nicephorus I (chap. 51, p. 26). Since this indication fits with

the other two—in Nicephorus' accession in October 802 Theophanes would have been 43 years old—Mango adds it to the list of clues provided by Methodius for the saint's birth year.⁴⁴ Treadgold leaves it out. At the end of the same passage describing the joint reigns of Nicephorus, his son Staurakios, and Michael I (καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνταρξατοῦ τῆς δεσποτέας, καὶ τὸν δευτέρου ἀνταρξατοῦ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ), we read that Theophanes "lived by his monastic exploits until the completion of his seventh 'age' at the age of 49, and then, in his 50th year, he was struck by disease" (p. 27). Mango (as above) considers this passage to indicate, in contradiction to those previously cited, that Theophanes "reached the age of 49 in the reign of Staurakios or in that of Michael I (811–3)." Treadgold (as above) uses this interpretation to dismiss as self-contradictory Methodius' chronology of Theophanes' life. Yet the root of the problem is not in the text but in the unhappy division by the editor of the *Life* Vasilij V. Latyšev, of a single sequence into two chapters (21–22). Theophanes' misfortune, noted against the peaceful background of three orthodox reigns, may be situated under Nicephorus just as well as under his successors. As to its date, it can be calculated according to the afore-cited indications of the saint's year of birth.

Following the conventions of the hagiographic genre, Methodius did not indicate Theophanes' date of birth (the saint's birthday being the day of his death), but he must have known it and used in his calculations. There is no indication that Methodius ever met Theophanes, but his information is so full and precise that we should be able to surmise its source. Stephanos Efthymiadis has sharply observed that the saintly predecessor of Abbot Stephen, mentioned in Theodore the Studite's *Ep.* 487, addressed to Stephen, was probably none other than Theophanes the Confessor: a friend of the Studite (they exchanged frequent letters), the deceased abbot is described by Theodore, not known for his modesty, as an unattainable role model. Efthymiadis further suggests identifying this Stephen with the homonymous sponsor of Theophanes' *Life* by Methodius.⁴⁵ Building on these observations we should be able to explain the emergence, in close sequence, of two *Lives* of Theophanes, Abbot Stephen, who was in close contact with Theodore the Studite (as *Ep.* 487 indicates), commissioned from him a Eulogy of Theophanes for the celebration of transfer of the saint's relics to the monastery he had founded around Easter 823.⁴⁶ Theodore executed the task, but the text he read scandalized the abbot. True to his vindictive character, Theodore chose to revive in public his personal crusade against the second marriage of Emperor Constantine VI, "the second Herod," and to castigate the newly celebrated saint for not having supported him nearly thirty years earlier. As pointed out by Panayotis Yannopoulos, "the most reverend abbot" who, according to Theodore's *Ep.* 443, took offence for his way of treating Saint Theophanes was the abbot of Megas Agros.⁴⁷ Using Theodore's Eulogy for the future liturgical celebration of Theophanes as

42. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. 1.

43. This sequence is clearly marked by the repetition of the same phrase at the beginning (p. 26, 6–7) and the end (p. 27, 14–5). Its unity was recognized by the first editor, D. S. Spiridonov, who presented it as chapter XXIV (Spiridonov's division is indicated by Latyšev in Roman numerals).

44. Efthymiadis, *Le panégyrique* (quoted n. 31), pp. 264–5.

45. I will bring arguments for this date (rather than the generally accepted 822) in a forthcoming study.

46. Theodore Studita, *Ep.* 443, ed. Fatouros (quoted n. 11), p. 623; cf. Yannopoulos (n. 3), *Theophanes de Sygari* (quoted n. 3), p. 33. This point is not commented by Fatouros who does not clearly identify the saint Theophanes in question (see the index, p. 868).

47. *Chronique de l'abbé Étienne Studite*, pp. 4–5 and 6.

48. Cf. Yannopoulos, *Le panégyrique*, la date et la date de naissance de Théophane le Confesseur, pp. 22–23 and p. 228. His author is right, however, to take the position of Theophanes' death in 813 rather than 781 (pp. 228–30). Cf. also *Le Théophane de Sygari* (n. 3), p. 33.

in the Chronicle.⁵⁷ Thus he suggests that George was the unnamed *synkellos*, who took part in the conspiracy of the patrician Arsaber, thwarted in February 808, and who was punished by Emperor Nikephorus.⁵⁸ The rebellious *synkellos* was presumably banished to a monastery some after than Theophanes' Megas Agros. This relegation is conceived as a serious penalty. George "seems to have been allowed to bring his personal library along with him, however," his friends "could send him additional books from the capital, which would be all." He and Theophanes evidently became intimate friends during George's days out of government, when George was working on his chronicle. Theophanes, a friendly and hospitable man, evidently looked up to his erudite friend.⁵⁹

The modalities of relegation to a monastery have been little studied, but I am not aware of cases of criminals being banished to private monasteries of recent foundation. In the legal status of Megas Agros was, basically, that of Theophanes' private estate, transforming it into a prison and its owner into a prison-guard would have been the most unlikely decision for an emperor to take. What is more, a neglected eyewitness testimony describes the actual conditions, in which the conspirators were imprisoned, beyond years after having written the *Life of Theophanes*, in the early months of 832, his biographer Methodius produced another hagiography, the *Life of Euthymius of Sandis*, with whom he had shared his prison while imprisonment on the island of Saint Andrew.⁶⁰ Methodius provides a chilling description of his monastic prison with its monk-gaolers (*καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ μοναχῶν φυλάξαι*, l. 389), but his cellmate—for whom the tiny dark cell in the monastery, described as a "grave," was initially constructed—was not a cleric. The man who had spent twenty-four years in prison by the time Methodius was writing (l. 421–22) was incarcerated, according to the *Life of Methodius*, for a conspiracy (*ἐπὶ συννομῇ καὶ ἀποκτείνεσθαι*).⁶¹ Unless we wish to admit an unattested conspiracy against Emperor Nikephorus and if we allow Methodius a slight approximation (twenty-four years instead of twenty-three), his cellmate was one of the fellow-plotters of the patrician Arsaber. The situation, as described, was a far cry from the idyllic setup imagined by Treadgold for George Synkellos as an exile arriving at Megas Agros in a britzka full of books and planning the best room in the abbey for his study. Fortunately for George, there is no reason to believe that he was ever involved in any conspiracy.

The important questions derived by the two scholars are highly symptomatic. The close relations between George Synkellos and the Chronicler could have only developed in a monastery, which is also the only place where each of them could accomplish his work. Despite some words of deferential praise, the Chronicler describes George as a "friend" (*φίλος*), thus treating him as an equal despite his senior ecclesiastical rank.

57. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine History*, p. 37, infers from "the fact that the *Chronography* continued some years after the period of Nikephorus," that George retained his high office of *synkellos* after Nikephorus' death. Treadgold, p. 37. The occasional references to Nikephorus. The fact that the *Chronography* was written after Nikephorus' death is, of course, a fact, but it remains unexplained.

58. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine History*, p. 37.

59. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine History*, pp. 37–38 and 66 for the quotes.

60. J. P. Guiraud, *La vie de Euthyme de Sandis* (L. 331), *Les saints du patriarche Méthode*, t. 1, p. 101, ap. 101. I refer to the text in the Latin of this edition.

61. Guiraud, *La vie de Euthyme de Sandis*, p. 101, n. 101. Guiraud (p. 101, n. 101) affirms, mistreading the text, that the *Chronography* had been written some years before Methodius' arrival in the monastery, and thus "consequently, il était dû être vu et lu par le prisonnier." *Il était dû être vu et lu par le prisonnier* is, of course, a mistake.

This would point to a well-positioned cleric within the patriarchal apparatus who had shared for years George's intellectual pursuits and had proven his capacities enough to be chosen as his continuator.

III. THEOPHANES THE CHRONICLER

1. The title

In commenting on the *Chronicle's* title, Warren Treadgold states that its "attribution to 'Theophanes, Sinner, Monk, and Abbot of Agros' is presumably by the author himself." He adds in a footnote: "The final words 'and Confessor' must of course be a later addition."⁶² Where there perceptible grounds for the proposed decomposition of the title, the present article would not have seen the light of day. The title, which is the only link between Theophanes the Confessor and the *Chronicle*, carries the attribution Θεοφάνους ἁμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἀγροῦ καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Χρονογραφία (etc.), and all we can learn from it with certainty is that the title as it stands did not originate with the author. Neither Theophanes nor any other writer would have described himself as a confessor.

The combination of ἁμαρτωλός and ὁμολογητής forms such a conspicuous oxymoron that I would not hesitate to recognize the phrase ἁμαρτωλός μοναχός as part of the author's original self-presentation. It would seem to me unlikely, however, that a monk professing to be a humble sinner would state in the title his quality of abbot.⁶³ George the Monk entitles his *Chronicle* as Χρονικὸν σύντομον ἐκ διαφόρων χρονογράφων τε καὶ ἐξηγητῶν συλλεγὲν καὶ συντεθὲν ὑπὸ Γεωργίου ἁμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ,⁶⁴ and this presentation neither implies nor rules out that George was the abbot of his monastery. The *Chronicle* of Theophanes was most probably presented in the same way.

Once we admit the retouching of the title by a later editor, the title's probative value for attributing the *Chronicle* to the abbot of Megas Agros declines sharply. We do not know how and where the *Chronicle* carrying the name of Theophanes had been preserved under the iconoclasts, but whoever put it in circulation soon after the Triumph of the Orthodoxy could have also been the one who attributed it, for whatever reason, to the Confessor. By the time Anastasius the Librarian came into possession of the *Chronicle* about a quarter of a century later, its author had been firmly identified as the abbot of Megas Agros. Unlike Cyril Mango, I would not consider Anastasius' testimony to this effect as additional independent evidence for this identity.⁶⁵ While Anastasius does not translate the title, his Latin text being in the early part an adaptation rather than a translation of the Greek, there is every chance that the Greek manuscript he used carried the very same title as the manuscripts available to us.

60. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine History*, p. 67, with n. 115.

61. Cf. Spiek, *Der "zweite" Theophanes* (quoted n. 10), p. 456 (cf. p. 461), with some hesitation on the value to attribute to the mention of the abbot's title.

62. Georg, *Mon.*, p. 6.

63. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. li, with n. 32.

2. The author's voice

Four times in the *Chronicle* the author speaks with his own voice, in the first person. His first-personal interventions are inserted in the historical narrative. The most significant one involves the rude winter of 763/4 when the northern part of the Black Sea and of the Propontis froze between early October and February. Most of the *Chronicle's* description finds a close correspondence in the *Short history* of Nicephorus that shares a common source with the *Chronicle* for most of the eighth century. Our author also evokes, however, his personal experience of climbing up onto an iceberg, holding animals frozen onto it, and "play[ing] on it together with some thirty boys of the same age."⁶⁴

All possible attributions have been proposed for this passage. Cyril Mango has pointed out that Theophanes' mother would have been unlikely to let her four-years-old son play on an iceberg. He has tentatively identified the boy as George (the future) Syncellus.⁶⁵ Yet, the only circumstance in George's early biography is that he was a monk near Jerusalem (Israel) and it would be awkward to have him grow up in Constantinople, spend some years in the East and then return to the Byzantine capital. Thus, Warren Treadgold attributes the personal reminiscences to Patriarch Tarasius, his proposed author of the common source.⁶⁶ Without dismissing this conjectural attribution, I would object that the passage itself in the *Chronicle* contains no trace of the *Chronicle's* "personal" data; besides, this would be the only instance when the Chronicler, whether George or Theophanes, would be a different writer working in the first person in his text. Panayotis Yannopoulos, who refers that Theophanes was five in the winter 763/4, defends the option, admitted implicitly by scholars like Cyril Mango, that the child playing on ice was Theophanes the Young Confessor. But he does not exclude him being George either since, in his view, there is no evidence for the claim that George was ever a monk in Palestine.⁶⁷

According to my calculation (above), Theophanes the Confessor had just turned four in the early January (in February he was four and a half years old). It would be absurd to imagine a flock of aristocratic toddlers climbing over an iceberg washed up against the shores of the Propontis: a child that age was most unlikely to keep a vivid image of the event and the idea that he could count his thirty playmates defies imagination. The experience described belongs to a boy growing up in Constantinople, about ten years older than Theophanes the Confessor.

Another instance of the Chronicler adding a personal note concerns the transfer of the relics of Saint Euphrosius in 766, in which he remembers being present "in the company of the great pious emperors and Tarasius the most holy patriarch." This recollection is unusual, with no real reason (the abuse of churches by the Arabs makes the author muse on the preservation of relics by the iconoclasts) in the entry for AM 6258 (765/6).⁶⁸ It would appear that the Chronicler, when working on the events of mid-760s, was

somewhat relaxed and prone to autobiographical reflections. His last personal interference is the account of his encounter with the patrician Theodosius Salibaras and of the latter's testimony revealing the evil nature of Emperor Nicephorus (above).

The author of the Preface shows such a strong sense of authorship that an omission on his part to transform the first person in quoting testimonies of others would seem to me unlikely. And all the more so since his personal remarks build a coherent image of a high-ranking cleric born ca. 750 and raised in Constantinople, who participated together with the highest dignitaries in a ceremony in 796 and who enjoyed in 811 the full trust of the patrician Theodosius Salibaras. This could not be Theophanes the Confessor, born ten years later. This was Theophanes the Chronicler.

My study, on the most basic level, is about labeling: whether the *Chronicle* should be inscribed with the name of Theophanes the Confessor or Theophanes *tout court*. This question is of little practical consequence for the casual users of the *Chronicle* who draw the evidence they need from this font of historical data. They will long keep the preference, I presume, for the euphonic Theophanes the Confessor over the abrupt Theophanes. The issue presents itself differently, however, for the students of the *Chronicle* as a specimen of historiographical craft, a monument of theological thought or a literary work (assuming that one can separate these aspects). On this level the question of attribution and authorship becomes essential.

Cyril Mango's objections to the effective authorship of Theophanes the Confessor provoked a rapid rebuttal from Igor S. Chichurov and Jacob N. Ljubarskij, who considered the problem from the angle of literary criticism.⁶⁹ Their polemics, greatly enhanced by Alexander Kazhdan, focused on Mango's view of the *Chronicle* as a "scissors and paste job." In analyzing the *Chronicle* as a work of a single author with his distinct patterns of thinking and style, Kazhdan resumes his case by declaring: "Theophanes was an historian."⁷⁰ Regardless of the way we define "Theophanes," there is truth in this statement. However, Mango's "literary" opponents did not properly address his arguments, which ἀπορροήσας πέποιε for the present article.

Meanwhile, Warren Treadgold and Panayotis Yannopoulos have made independent attempts to apply Mango's scheme in practice and to propose a functional division of labor between the two "co-authors" of the *Chronicle*, George Syncellus and Theophanes the Confessor. While not sharing the same premises, they draw remarkably similar scenarios involving a prolonged stay by George in the monastery of Megas Agros in the role of the *maître*, with Theophanes as his eager apprentice. As I hope to have shown, both scenarios, in order to work, require assumptions that are not only arbitrary and unsupported by evidence but also stand in square contradiction to the actual data of our sources.

⁶⁴ *Chronicle*, in 215, pp. 441–42 and Mango & Mango, *Source*, pp. 600–1; cf. Nicephorus, *Short history*, 215.

⁶⁵ *Constantinople, City of Byzantium*, 12.

⁶⁶ *Constantinople, City of Byzantium*, 12.

⁶⁷ *Constantinople, City of Byzantium*, 12, pp. 87–8, 214–5.

⁶⁸ *Chronicle*, in 215, pp. 441–42 and Mango & Mango, *Source*, pp. 607–8.

⁶⁹ Among both authors' numerous publications, see esp. И. С. ЧИЧУРОВ, Феодан Печенский — публицист, редактор, автор?, IV 42, 1984, pp. 78–87; Я. Н. ЛЮБАРСКИЙ, Феодан Печенский и исторический его «Хронограф»: К вопросу о методах изложения, IV 45, 1984, pp. 72–86.

⁷⁰ KAZHDAN, *A history* (quoted n. 26), pp. 218 and 224. The description of Theophanes as "a scissors-and-paste compiler" is retained by SEVČENKO, *The search for the past* (quoted n. 26), p. 28.

This large-scale simulation of the "collaborative" scheme is useful, however, in revealing the problem embedded in the very notion of "materials," regardless of the way we translate the word *aphorizai*. Where would the "materials" come from? On the eve of his death, George Syncellus was composing his *Chronography*, not just gathering notes for a future composition. There is a rough seam between his compendium and the *Chronicle* in the form of a large number of unfilled yearly entries at the beginning of the latter;⁷⁰ manifestly, George left no "materials" for the years that followed the period he lived to describe. This fact could find an explanation of a kind in Treadgold's suggestion that George Syncellus had worked on his own text until 811/12 and then "he took a bit more time [until the end of 813, C.Z.] to prepare the further 'materials' that he gave to Theophanes."⁷¹ Should we assume that George, having anticipated his death more than a year ahead, dropped the ancient history and started preparing notes for his chosen successor? A modern scholar can visualize each entry in the *Chronicle* as an article in preparation. Leaving behind about five hundred or so such drafts, dealing with different periods and sources, would be no blessing and no help. Yet, I see no indication that George had ever prepared them and, what is more, I doubt that Theophanes worked much with notes. For each period described he rarely compiled more than two sources, which he probably paraphrased directly from open manuscripts after having marked the passages he wanted to use and thought out the way to dispose them.

If we give consideration to the Chronicler's statement in the Preface, he accomplished all the work invested in the *Chronicle*, research and composition combined, entirely on his own. This should not mean to say that his friend George Syncellus did not leave him books, bibliographical indications, or notes, on the period that he had initially planned on describing himself. But this clearly means that this Chronicler was not Theophanes the Confessor.

I will terminate this study by one last argument for separating the Confessor and the Chronicler: it concerns the former's personality. Unlike Theophanes the Confessor, a truly pious character according to Theodore the Studite who knew him well, the Chronicler was a misanthrope of the worst kind. He hated the iconoclasts,⁷² but also the non-orthodox emperor Nicephorus, his son and his ministers. Theodore the Studite and the Fathers of the Council in Trullo – and who not. As Konstantin N. Uspenskij has shown in his study of the *Chronicle*, printed many years after his death and unfortunately little read, the Chronicler had become the author's method of writing history (of the Iconoclast period).⁷³ This is our most serious, a positive one this time, to relieve Theophanes the Confessor of any link to the *Chronicle* posthumously attached to his name.

⁷⁰ Theophanes, *Chronographia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1831), p. 67.
⁷¹ Ibid., p. 61.

⁷² Theophanes, *Chronographia* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1831), p. 61, observes that the *Chronicle* projects "misanthropic views on the 'complicated human' which does not fit Theophanes the Confessor; however, instead of removing this anomaly to George Syncellus, yet – as shown by Kazhdan, *A Byzantine Chronography*, vol. 1, p. 362–7, Syncellus is his own son. There is to have been unenthusiastic about

⁷³ K. N. Uspenskij, *Byzantine Chronography* (Moscow: Vostochnyye knizhnitsy, 1950), pp. 106–133, and 4, 1951, pp. 211–62.

FRAMING UNIVERSAL HISTORY: SYNCELLUS' CANON AND THEOPHANES' RUBRICS¹

by Marek JANKOWIAK

The annalistic format of Theophanes' *Chronicle* accounts in a large extent for its influence on modern historiography, so concerned with chronological exactitude. Its convenient arrangement by annual entries sets it apart from other Byzantine chronicles and has earned it as much gratitude from contemporary historians, who often overconfidently rely on its chronology, as criticism from those disenchanted with its mistakes. Modern discussions tend, however, to concentrate on Theophanes' chronological blunders in isolation from each other rather than to investigate his method globally. Constrained by the rigorous structure that he imposed on his work, Theophanes was confronted with a problem faced by few of his fellow Byzantine historians: how to establish the precise yearly date of every single event. The first part of this paper proposes to retrace the approach that he adopted in order to create the chronological framework of the *Chronicle*, in particular to establish the correct number and the sequence of years. Its elaboration will be attributed to Theophanes' mentor, George Syncellus, author of a world chronicle reaching to AM 5776 (AD 283/4), the continuation of which Theophanes claimed to write. If accepted, this hypothesis reinforces the connection between Syncellus' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle*.² I will then proceed to discuss the apparent, as I will argue, mistake that is thought to have marred Theophanes' chronology of much of the last two centuries of the *Chronicle*. Its study reveals interesting information on Theophanes' method and on his sources, especially on the much-discussed "Oriental source" frequently attributed to Theophilus of Edessa.³ It also leads to a fuller appreciation

1. This study was written thanks to the Newton International Fellowship funded by the British Academy. Many thanks to Phil Booth for critical remarks; all mistakes are mine.

2. Argued, in this volume, by A. KOSMA, J. TORJASON and W. TREADGOLD.

3. I accept this convenient label. See recently W. BRASDES, *Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie: Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der Chronographia des Theophanes*, in *Leviat der Genesen: Beiträge und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. von A. Guler, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2002, pp. 313–43; H. JONSTON, *Witnes*, pp. 192–236; H. JONSTON, *Theophilus M. JANKOWIAK*, *The first Arab siege of Constantinople*, in *Constructing the seventh century*, ed. by C. Zuckerman (= *IM 17*), Paris 2011, pp. 237–320, at pp. 256–62; M. COSTANTINI, *La "Descrizione dei tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica*

of headings inserted by Theophanes into the compilation of his *Chronicle* and to a better understanding of the ways in which its overambitious chronological scheme shapes our reconstruction of the Dark Centuries of Byzantium.

1. THE RUBRICS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CANON

Modern editions and translations of the *Chronicle* are organized by *anni mundi* (AM), years of the world. Theophanes adopted the Alexandrian era that counted them from Creation on 25 March 5492 BC.¹ The *anni mundi* figure prominently on the margins of de Boor's edition and at the beginning of each annual entry in the English translation of Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, in the latter they are printed in bold font, conveniently incorporated into the chronological system (AN), and typographically differentiated from the notices of the chronology of kings and patriarchs.² Both the edition and the translation make it clear that most *anni mundi* do not belong to the original text—the former by placing them in the margins outside the main text, the latter by enclosing most of them in square brackets—but at the same time in both the *anni mundi* constitute the only consistent internal subdivision of the *Chronicle* and are as such the most convenient way of referring to it.³

Although the pre-eminence of the *anni mundi* in the chronological scheme of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is generally accepted,⁴ this misrepresents its appearance in most manuscripts.⁵ Two types of headings (or "rubrics") precede the notices for individual years: the full and the abbreviated. The full headings consist of up to nine columns of information, for example, as in the heading of AM 5968 (Table 1).⁶ The columns provide the year of the world (AM), of the Incarnation (obtained by a simple subtraction of 5500 from the AM—therefore 7–8 years in advance of our AD), the regnal years of the Roman and Persian rulers (later replaced by the Arab caliphs), and the years of the bishops of the five patriarchal sees (Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch), in an ordered order where Jerusalem is promoted to third place. This is sometimes taken as an indication of the hand of George Syncellus, who was a Palestinian monk before moving to

κόσμου ἐτη εὐξή'	τῆς θεότης παρουσίας ἐτη ιεή'	Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ζήνων ἐτη ιε' β'	Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Шапур II ἐτη εδ' κδ'	Ρώμης ἐπὶ Σιμπλικίου ἐτη ιδ' ε'
year of the world 5968	year of the divine Incarnation 468	emperor of Romans Zeno 17 years, 2 nd year	king of Persians Shapur 24 years, 24 th year	bishop of Rome Simplicius 14 years, 7 th year
Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπὶ Ἀκάκιος ἐτη ιε' α'	Ιερουσαλήμων ἐπὶ Ιουβενάκιος ἐτη λη' λη'	Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἐκτοῦρος ἐτη β' α'	Αντιοχείας ἐπὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ὀκτωβήτιος ἐτη γ' β'	
bishop of Constantinople Acacius 17 years, 5 th year	bishop of Jerusalem Iuvencius 38 years, 38 th year	bishop of Alexandria Timothy the Cat 2 years, 1 st year	bishop of Antioch Peter the Fuller 3 years, 2 nd year	

Table 1 – An example of a full heading (AM 5968)

Constantinople.¹¹ This type of heading is, however, less frequent in the manuscripts than the abbreviated format composed of simple series of figures, such as in the heading for AM 5812: ιε', ιη', κ', α', ε', ιδ', ε', which stands for the 16th year of Emperor Constantine, 18th year of the Persian king Sabores (Shapur II), and the 20th, 1st, 6th, 14th and 6th years of the respective patriarchs. In around 20 cases, the abbreviated headings include also the figures for the years of the world and of Incarnation.

In de Boor's edition—based on all the most significant manuscripts except for *Wake gr.* 5 (which is close to the edited text) and *Paris gr.* 1710 (on which see below)—, 133 of the 529 annual entries are prefaced with the full headings, which corresponds on average to one year in four (25%), although this proportion sinks to one year in eight in the last century of the *Chronicle*. No obvious pattern governs the choice of years in which they appear: they are rarer in the first decades and especially in the last decades of the *Chronicle* than in its middle section; there is no obvious correlation with the first years of decades; and there is no fixed interval between their successive occurrences—they not infrequently appear in consecutive years (35 times), but can also be separated by as many as 21 years (between AM 6212 and 6233, and between AM 6283 and 6304). There are decades without a single full rubric, but conversely six years in the AM 6090s have them.

It is difficult to account for this irregularity. De Boor hesitated over whether to attribute it to the elimination of the *anni mundi* from an initially consistent scheme or to later erratic insertions.¹² Mango observed a frequent coincidence between the full rubrics

¹ Theophanes' *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

² C. Mango and R. Scott, *Theophanes' Chronicle*, 1. *The Chronicle*, Paris 1958, pp. 92–5.

³ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

⁴ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

⁵ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

⁶ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

⁷ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

⁸ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

⁹ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

¹⁰ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

¹¹ The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

¹² The *Chronicle* (transl. by George Syncellus) (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin 1912, and M. G. L. (M. G. L. 1000) and R. H. (R. H. 1000) in this volume.

11. Mango in MANGO + SCOTT, p. lxxv, although in the *Chronography* of Syncellus the order is different: the bishops of Jerusalem are listed in the last position, after those of Rome, Antioch (usually promoted to the second place), and Alexandria.

12. Theoph. 2, p. 465. The earlier canons of Eusebius and Jacob of Edessa also sparingly used world eras, providing them usually only for the full decades, see E. W. BROWNE, *The chronological canon of James of Edessa*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 53, 1899, pp. 264–327, at p. 264 and n. 3.

and the accession of a Roman emperor—although there are several exceptions¹¹—and such important events as the First Council of Nicaea. But he also noticed that the full rubrics occur at regular "intervals of about forty lines of text in de Boor's edition or multiples thereof," perhaps because the scribe of the archetype "sometimes started a page with a full rubric."¹² This is confirmed by the manuscripts, for instance *Wake* gr. 5, in which years with full rubrics form regularly spaced sequences, such as the one from 6029 (fol. 167r) to 6075 (fol. 184r), where they are separated by broadly a folio and a half, or by a double or triple of it. But there is no general rule, given that no such pattern can be detected in some other parts of the manuscript.

A similarly irregular use of the *anni mundi* can be observed in the work of Theophanes' predecessor, the *Chronography* of George Syncellus, especially in its second volume beginning with Pompey's sack of Jerusalem in 63 BC. The modern edition and translation are again misleading in that they overemphasize the years of the world (printed in separate lines in capital letters), which in the manuscripts of the *Chronography* are only one of the elements of prominent rubrics that mostly consist of the names of kings and bishops (see fig. 3). The frequency of years that Syncellus chose to emphasise by the mention of the year of Creation is close, in the almost three centuries between the Incarnation and the end of the *Chronography*, to that in Theophanes' *Chronicle*, and their choice demonstrates, once again, two self-evident rules such as the first year of a new ruler or bishop. The format of the two works is thus more similar than modern editions and translations would have us, even if Theophanes converted the list format of Syncellus' rubrics into the more clear tabular headings described above.

The rubrics, both full and abbreviated, are, however, absent from the two earliest witnesses of the *Chronicle*: the oldest Greek manuscript *Paris*, gr. 1710, now dated by Filippo Bonanni to the mid-ninth century,¹⁶ and the Latin translation executed by Anastasius the Librarian in the 870s. The *Parisinus* and Anastasius do not share the same focus: in the former most annual entries are introduced by τὸν αὐτὸν ἔταρ or a similar formula (if the change in the year is at all marked), without reference to any chronological system,¹⁷ while Anastasius consistently uses the regnal years of the emperors. The both Anastasius and the *Parisinus* occasionally begin their yearly notices with *anni* numbers. Their location coincides almost perfectly with the full rubrics of the later Greek versions, especially in the *Parisinus*.¹⁸ The omissions and additions by Anastasius are

Of stages in history—2000, p. 120, lists as exceptions Arcadius, Heraclonas, Justinian II in the second class, Leo III, Leo IV in the second class, and Nicephorus, to which one should add Constantine V and Thomas, thus that the exceptions concentrate in the last third of the *Chronicle*.

1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 26

It is the only place in the world and of the Americas where the *251-28*, also has here an *avium munda*.

[illegible][illegible]

Fig. 1 – Oxford, Christ Church College Library, *Wike* gr. 5, fol. 59r.
An example of Syncellus' rubric. Note the indistinctive position
of the *anni mundi* in lines 13, 20 and 29.

more frequent, but they conform to a pattern: the former belong to the first part of the *Chronicle*, significantly abbreviated in his translation, whereas the additional *anni mundi* concentrate in the last century and a half of the *Chronicle*, when Anastasius followed his model more closely.²⁰ This is when the full rubrics become rare in the main branch of the Greek manuscript tradition; Anastasius' translation suggests that they were eliminated from it at an early stage of the transmission.

The coincidence of the years with full rubrics in the later manuscripts with those with *anni mundi* in Anastasius and the *Paris, gr. 1710* implies that the same annual entries were already marked in a distinctive way in the common archetype. This inference is supported by an error common to the entire tradition of Theophanes' *Chronicle*: the year of the world 6042 is mistakenly identified as AM 6046 in all the manuscripts, including *Paris, gr. 1710*, and in Anastasius.²¹ But how were these special years originally singled out: by a simple *anni mundi*, or by a full rubric? In other words, are the full rubrics original to the *Chronicle*, or were they added later, for instance when the prestigious *Wake gr. 5* and its poorer sibling *Vatic. gr. 155* were produced around the year 900, perhaps at the behest of the empress Zoe Karbonopsina?²²

The Alexandrian *anni mundi*, the main organisational principle of both the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and the *Chronography* of his mentor George Syncellus, were a learned concept of limited practical use. The real chronological backbone of the *Chronicle* is the regnal years of the Roman emperors, which were easier to correlate with the chronological system used by Theophanes' sources.²³ It is these that allow us to understand how Theophanes (or Syncellus) built his chronological canon and to explain many of its apparent inconsistencies, in the first place the notorious missing year in the seventh century.

The importance of the regnal years is emphasised by Theophanes himself in his *preface* to the *Chronicle*:

For I, too, after seeking out to the best of my ability and examining many books, have written down accurately—as best I could—this chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael and his son Theophylaktos, namely the reigns²⁴ and the patriarchs and their deeds together with their dates. [...] In this manner the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind.²⁵

20. Anastasius omitted 18 full rubrics and added 20 *anni mundi* at AM 6151, 6158, 6160¹, 6161, 6162, 6163, 6164, 6165, 6166, 6167, 6168, 6169, 6170, 6171, 6172, 6173, 6174, 6175, 6176, 6177, 6178, 6179, 6180, 6181, 6182, 6183, 6184, 6185, 6186, 6187, 6188, 6189, 6190, 6191, 6192, 6193, 6194, 6195, 6196, 6197, 6198, 6199, 6200, 6201, 6202, 6203, 6204, 6205, 6206, 6207, 6208, 6209, 6210, 6211, 6212, 6213, 6214, 6215, 6216, 6217, 6218, 6219, 6220, 6221, 6222, 6223, 6224, 6225, 6226, 6227, 6228, 6229, 6230, 6231, 6232, 6233, 6234, 6235, 6236, 6237, 6238, 6239, 6240, 6241, 6242, 6243, 6244, 6245, 6246, 6247, 6248, 6249, 6250, 6251, 6252, 6253, 6254, 6255, 6256, 6257, 6258, 6259, 6260, 6261, 6262, 6263, 6264, 6265, 6266, 6267, 6268, 6269, 6270, 6271, 6272, 6273, 6274, 6275, 6276, 6277, 6278, 6279, 6280, 6281, 6282, 6283, 6284, 6285, 6286, 6287, 6288, 6289, 6290, 6291, 6292, 6293, 6294, 6295, 6296, 6297, 6298, 6299, 6300, 6301, 6302, 6303, 6304, 6305, 6306, 6307, 6308, 6309, 6310, 6311, 6312, 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in AM 5853 (AD 360/1), one year too early.⁴⁶ This mistake arose from the chronology of Julian's predecessor, Constantius II, whose twenty-four years of reign are correctly counted from AM 5829 (AD 336/7),⁴⁷ but end too early in AM 5852 (AD 359/60). Even if Syncellus was aware of the necessity of crediting Constantius II with at least another year,⁴⁸ he had little room for manoeuvre, as his sources mistakenly extended Julian's reign, which in reality spanned only a year and seven months (November 361 – June 363), to three years.⁴⁹ Julian's last year is consequently placed in AM 5855 (AD 362/3), even though this was the accession year of the next emperor Jovian and as such should have been counted under his name. If the above-mentioned rule of thumb was followed rigorously, Julian should have been credited with one year only, namely AM 5854.

Jacob of Edessa, who in the late seventh century brought up to date the canon of Eusebius of Caesarea (which extended to AD 324/5), arrived at yet another conclusion. In the preface to his work, he explains that his canon was based on "the precise explanation of the sequence of times of each reign separately:"⁵⁰ in other words, Jacob built his canon bottom-up, beginning with the determination of the number of years of each emperor. A handful of such detailed notes on the chronology of individual emperors survives in the damaged unique manuscript of the canon (Brit. Libr. Add. 14685), including those for Julian and Jovian:

*[Julian] became emperor on the 3rd day of Kanno I. Before he became emperor, he [had] been Caesar for four years, and was killed [at the age of 31] on the 26th day of Tammuz in the consulate of Demetrius for the fourth time and of Sallustius. The years of his reign are three; [and once, he became Caesar—(seven). But (two) years will be reckoned for him, because, after he had become emperor on the 2nd day of Tammuz [one day] after the death of Julian and reigned for only 7 months, died on the 1st day of Shebat in the consulate of Demetrius and his son the noble Varonianus. He was 39 years old. But in the sum of years was near 2, assigned to him.]*⁵¹

The distinction between the actual length of their reigns and the number of years not reckoned in the canon demonstrates Jacob's awareness of the risk of accumulation of rounding errors. Although Jacob estimated Julian's reign at two years and seven months,⁵²

46. Theodoretus also considered Theophrastus considered the acclamation of Julian as emperor in AD 361 (Theodoret 294 in the numbering of his text).

47. Constantius II reigned from 3 September 337, when he was proclaimed Augustus, to his death on 3 November 361, which Syncellus rounded to 24 years from the death of his father Constantine I on 22 May 337. It must, however, have been for more than 24 years and a half and could be rounded down to 23 years. On the importance of the starting day of Theophrastus' calendar year see Mango's critique of Constantius' reign in *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Leiden, 1975), p. 100.

48. Syncellus lists 24 years, which Syncellus rounded to 25 years after Constantius' death.

49. Syncellus lists 30, 25, 30 and 30 years for Julian's reign. Theodoret 149 (p. 61, 21) placed Julian's reign as lasting two years and seven months.

50. Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicon*, introduction, in E. W. Mitchell (ed.), *Chronicon*, 3 (CSCO 6, 1903), pp. 10–11, 28, 49, 30; *Chronicon*, in Mitchell (ed.), 3 (CSCO 6, 1903), pp. 10–11, 28, 49, 30.

51. Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicon*, in Mitchell (ed.), 3 (CSCO 6, 1903), pp. 10–11, 28, 49, 30. The numbers in brackets were supplied by Jacob of Edessa.

52. Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicon*, in Mitchell (ed.), 3 (CSCO 6, 1903), pp. 10–11, 28, 49, 30. See above for Jacob's use of the knowledge of Julian's reign.

he shortened it to two years, no doubt in order to avoid a systematic error in his canon. Paradoxically, this discrepancy between the canons of Jacob and Syncellus resulted in their synchronisation, in both of them Julian's reign ends in a year equivalent to AD 362/3.

A stray note on the lengths of the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V exist in Theophanes' *Chronicle* shows that George Syncellus followed a similar procedure and first determined the dates of individual emperors. In the last year of Leo III, Theophanes inserted chronological comments that probably served to establish the canon he was using in his *Chronicle*:

*It was the year 6248 from the creation of the world, that is from Adam according to the Romans, 6232 according to the Egyptians, that is the Alexandrians, 1063 from Philip according to the Macedonians, Leo reigned from 25 March of the 1st indiction until 18 June of the 9th indiction, a reign of 24 years, 2 months, 25 days. So also his son Constantine, who succeeded to his empire and his kingdom, reigned from the same 18 June of the 9th indiction until 14 September of the 1st indiction. He reigned, by God's dispensation, 34 years, 3 months, 2 days.*⁵³

Despite a shared methodology, Syncellus' canon, as preserved in the rubrics of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, differs from Jacob's in many points of detail: in particular, the first years of nine out of twenty-five emperors listed in both canons do not coincide.⁵⁴ It also differs from other contemporary lists of emperors, especially that included in the *Chronographikon syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nicephorus, notwithstanding the fact that this work frequently precedes the *Chronicle* in the manuscripts.⁵⁵ Theophanes attributes, for instance, 32 years to Constantine I and 14 to Arcadius, while the *Chronographikon syntomon* gives 31 to the former and 13 years and 3 months to the latter; both lists also differ in their absolute chronology: the *Chronographikon syntomon* places the death of Constantine in AM 5836, eight years later than Theophanes.⁵⁶ It follows that the list in the *Chronographikon syntomon* is independent from the rubrics of Theophanes' *Chronicle*. These discrepancies suggest that the Byzantines had no standardised chronology of their rulers: each author of a canon had to compile it anew.

The other lists included in Syncellus' canon were synchronised with the world era less meticulously. Numerous ad-hoc adjustments show the difficulties faced by Syncellus in making the lists of patriarchs and foreign rulers conform to the few absolute dates that he could glean from his sources. He dated, for example, the patriarchate of Athanasius of Alexandria, to AM 5822–64 (AD 329/30–37/38) inclusive; but this left Athanasius with

43. Theoph. AM 6232, pp. 412, 21–413, 1. Traces of similar calculations are perhaps preserved in AM 5983, p. 136, 16–22, and AM 6010, p. 160, 11–6.

44. These are Constantine I (first year in AD 304/5 in Syncellus/Theophanes, and in AD 303/4 in Jacob), Constantius II (336/7, 337/8), Julian (360/1, 361/2), Arcadius (393/4, 393/6), 4 and 5 (451/8, 456/7), Zeno (474/5, 475/6), Heraclius (610/10, 610/1), Constantine II (641/2, 642/3), and Constantine IV (668/9, 669/70). I omit the two emperors absent from Jacob's canon (i.e. Valens and Heraclonas). Jacob's canon begins with the 21st year of Constantine, which is placed in the first year of the 276th Olympiad, corresponding to AD 325/6.

45. See J. Torrance in this volume.

46. Niceph. *Chron.*, pp. 95, 20–2, 97, 19 and 96, 11, 2 (date of Constantine's death).

A fundamental matter as correlating the *anni mundi* with the indictions, and suggested that most of the apparent discrepancies can be explained by the fact that Theophanes counted his years from 25 March, rather than 1 September, and that for this reason he was compelled to distribute, more or less successfully, the events of a single indictional year between the two *anni mundi* to which it corresponds. This complex theory found little support, mainly because there is no reason to doubt that Theophanes' years were beginning on 1 September. Finally, C. Mango proposed recently that Theophanes "quite simply [...] went astray" when he "assigned eight indictions to Phokas but only seven signal years." He concludes that "once the discrepancy is seen to be due to muddle it no longer requires a comprehensive explanation."

It has not yet been noted, however, that Theophanes' chronology of the seventh century contains in reality two mistakes, not one. The commentators have so far concentrated on the discrepancy between the indictions and the *anni mundi*, systematic from the beginning of the reign of Heraclius at least into the reign of Constantine IV. It is noteworthy, however, that the indictions are correctly synchronised with the regnal years of Heraclius and of his ephemeral successor Heraclonas. This correspondence breaks down in the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV: the earthquake of June indiction 2 (AD 650), for instance, is placed by Theophanes in AM 6150 and in the 1st year of Constans II, which both correspond to AD 657/8 (as Constans II's reign began in AD 641/2). Judging from the other natural events that can be independently dated, the discrepancy between their dates and both the *anni mundi* and the regnal years extends from the first year of Constans II (the solar eclipse of 5 November 644 is noted in his *third regnal year* and in AM 6136, both of which are equivalent to AD 643/4) until late in the reign of Constantine IV (the earthquake of Easter Sunday 679 is placed in the his *ninth year* and in AM 6170, that is in AD 677/8, one year too early in terms of both the regnal year and the year of Creation).⁴

The first of Theophanes' mistakes thus consists in the erroneous synchronisation of the second year of Heraclius with the *anni mundi*: Theophanes placed the first year of his reign one year too early, in AM 6102 (AD 609/10). The events described in the *annual history* for this year—among others, Heraclius' occupation of Constantinople in October 610 and the birth of his daughter Epiphania-Eudocia in July 611—are thus placed in the wrong *anni mundi*, but they are correctly dated to the first regnal year of Heraclius (AD 610/1). As a result of this slip, the last eighth year of Phocas' reign (AD 608/09) is absent from the *Chronicle*—even though Phocas is consistently given an eight-year reign by other sources—and the events that can be dated to it are scattered between three years, say 608/9–610/1.¹⁷

14. The earthquake of 679 occurred shortly before the year of Umar, equivalent to the 11th and 12th of Caliph Umar, and Muslim year 32, a total of 11, p. 112 (year not given). Its date: D. J. SCHÖNB, *Chronology of events and sources, ca. 630-670* (Cambridge 1984), pp. 123-4. For the earthquake of 679, see also *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116, p. 250 n. 3.

100. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
101. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
102. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
103. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
104. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
105. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
106. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
107. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
108. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
109. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).
110. *Journal de l'expédition de l'armée turque en Arménie*, ed. by the French of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40).

The second mistake resulted from an attempt, conscious or not, to correct the first one. In addition to 31 years of Heraclius, Theophanes' canon assigns a full year to his son and successor Heraclonas (AM 6133 = AD 640/1). Given that the reigns of Heraclius and his sons spanned almost exactly 31 years (October 610 – September 641), this amounts to intercalating a year, which compensates for the omitted eighth year of Phocas. The agreement between the *anni mundi* and the regnal years is thus restored; the first year of Constans II is correctly equated with AM 6134 (AD 641/2). But, confusingly, Theophanes' indicions (see Table 2) and other events that can be independently dated, such as eclipses or earthquakes,³²

Why, then, despite a correction to his chronological scheme, does Theophanes consistently insert the events one year too early? The answer must be that he was using an annalistic source organised by regnal years, the chronology of which, however, was shifted by one year in respect of the correct absolute chronology. In other words, Theophanes' source probably placed the first year of Constant II one year too late, in a year equivalent to AD 642/3, a mistake perhaps due to the confusingly rapid turnover of the emperors in the year 641. Theophanes logically copied the events of this year into his entry dated to the first year of Constant II. The discrepancy arose from the fact that this year corresponded in his canon to the year AD 641/2.

This source can only be the famous "Oriental source" of Theophanes, for which I accept the tentative attribution to Theophilus of Edessa. Its format has been much debated. Dionysius classifies Theophilus among the authors of "narratives resembling ecclesiastical history," whom he criticises for "setting forth their accounts in a compartmentalised and discontinuous fashion, without paying strict heed to chronological accuracy or the order of succession of events."⁷ On the basis of this critique and of frequent chronological discrepancies between his dependants, Theophilus is usually thought to be an unlikely candidate to have provided Theophanes with a consistent chronological sequence of events.⁸ But this is to dismiss the sophisticated synchronisms shared by Theophilus' three Syriac and Arabic dependants: Agapinus, Michael the Syrian, and the *Chronicle of 1234*. It is noteworthy that these are frequently placed at the same points of their narratives,⁹ in a way not dissimilar to how the "dependants" of Theophanes (*Paris*, gr. 1740, Anastasius, the Slavonic translation, and the later Greek manuscript tradition) mark in different ways the

56. See above, note 54.

57. Mich. Syr., X, 20, transl., II, p. 358; transl. HOLMSTEDT, *Theophanes*, pp. 5 and 12.

58. E.g. HOSLAND, *Theophilus*, p. 19: "It is evident from the frequency with which Dionysius or Agapinus either begin a notice with 'at this time' or else disagree with each other on dating that 'Theophilus' work was not annalistic and was indeed rather sparing with dates."

59. See for instance the notices corresponding to 46 (*Annus Grægorianus* 933 (Agapius, p. 456; Mich. Syr., XI, 2, transl., II, p. 403; *Chron. 1234*, p. 178), 936 (Agapius, p. 458; Mich. Syr., XI, 3, transl., II, p. 408; *Chron. 1234*, p. 181), 946 (Agapius, p. 469; Mich. Syr., XI, 5, transl., II, p. 417; no synchronism in *Chron. 1234*, pp. 191–2), 952 (Agapius, p. 478; Mich. Syr., XI, 7, transl., II, p. 426; *Chron. 1234*, p. 203), 966 (Agapius, p. 483; Mich. Syr., XI, 11, transl., II, p. 445; *Chron. 1234*, p. 214), 976 (no synchronism in Agapius, see R. Horowitz in this volume, p. 363; Mich. Syr., XI, 12, transl., II, p. 451; *Chron. 1234*, p. 220), 980 (no synchronism in Agapius, p. 490; Mich. Syr., XI, 12, transl., II, p. 450; *Chron. 1234*, p. 223), and 981 (Agapius, p. 491; Mich. Syr., XI, 13, transl., II, p. 454; *Chron. 1234*, p. 224).

[illegible]

68. Agapinus, p. 491; Mich. Syr., II, pp. 536-7; Canon. 1254; accession of Justinian II in a year equivalent to ca. 697 (as 685/6).

dates of 15 August 700—are correctly assigned.¹⁸ But the chronology of the last years of the “Oriental source” is uncertain and awaits a closer study. Theophanes probably followed the chronology of the other source that he was using for the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V, an iconophile pamphlet that appears to have dated the events mainly by induction,¹⁹ to match this chronological scheme. He corrected his error only when he attributed an additional 37th year to Constantine V in AM 6267 (AD 774/5), thus restoring the correspondence between the indictions and the *anni mundi* and regnal years.

CONCLUSION

In the absence of a system of absolute chronology that would be shared by late antique and early Byzantine historians, the task of synchronising their works into a coherent world chronology was a demanding one. On the face of it, judging by the number of chronological slips in the *Chronicle*, Theophanes did not stand up to it. But it would be mistaken to underestimate the quality of his work by its exactitude in terms of absolute chronology. Theophanes has “done himself” (ἐποίησεν ἑαυτοῦ) George Syncellus with the “starting point” (ἀρχὴν) for his work,²⁰ which this paper proposes to identify as the chronological canon upon which the *Chronicle* is founded—. Theophanes invested significant effort in harmonising the two main sources he had access to into a consistent whole.²¹ The main difficulty task consisted in reconciling George’s canon with the works that were based on local time reckoning, but not necessarily correct, chronological calculations. The hypothesis that the “Oriental source” was such a source, and that it used the canon established by Elias of Edessa around the year 700, allows to account for Theophanes’ confused chronology of the seventh century. His absolute dates are wrong by a year, but—contrary to the common opinion—this mistake does not testify to his inadequate skills. Quite on the contrary, Theophanes’ real achievement was to have avoided major chronological discrepancies that would have invalidated his chronological framework, becoming instead a lucky hand on the sleeve of his continuator.

IN SEARCH OF SYNCELLUS’ AND THEOPHANES’ OWN WORDS: THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CHRONOGRAPHIA* REVISITED¹

by Andrzej Kusma

A distinctive trait of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes is the unique bond with the *Ekloge chronographias* of George Syncellus. Taken together, the two works form the grandest and the most comprehensive universal chronography in Byzantium, but the nature of this connection is as opaque as the ties between the two authors, with Theophanes adamantly admitting in his preface to doing nothing but continue George’s work, that ended with Diocletian, with recourse to the enigmatic ἀγοππαι (below) provided to him by George himself. Beyond the *topoi*, this raises the problem of the authorship of the *Chronographia*. Theophanes’ role and the very relevance of the term “authorship” in connection with the *Chronographia* have been discussed for a few decades and there is no real consensus². One tendency consists in minimising or denying the contribution of Theophanes, to the point of considering the author of the *Chronographia* to be distinct from the Confessor known from several hagiographic *vitae*. The other consists in the wholesale acceptance of the authorship of Theophanes.

1. This is an abridged version of my *Γενεσις filoi*: the search for George Syncellus’ and Theophanes’ the Confessor’s own words, and the authorship of their oeuvre, *Studia Classica* 5, 2015 (forthcoming).

2. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle; H. C. Μαντζου, Θεοφάνης Ημερολόγιος, ὑπόμνημα, περὶ αὐτοῦ, *ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ*, 1981, pp. 78–87; P. Στεφάνου, Das geteilte Dossier: Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros (Horsika Byzantina 9), Bonn 1988, pp. 499–519; Rostovtzev, *Byzance au 8. siècle*, pp. 40 f.; P. Στεφάνου, Der “zweite” Theophanes: eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes, in *Varia*, 5 (Horsika Byzantina 13), Bonn 1994, pp. 431–83; L. Στεφάνου, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–293, at pp. 287 ff.; Mango – Scott, pp. xlii–lxiii, esp. lvi–lxiii; *Thesaurus Theophani Confessoris: Chronographia*, ed. B. Goulet, P. Yannopoulos (Corpus Christianorum, Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum), Turnhout 1998, pp. xxvii–lvi; A. Kazhdan, *A history of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, (CSCO 200), Athens 1999, pp. 215–24; P. YANNPOULOS, Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronique* de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, pp. 527–53, at pp. 527–31; L. BURBANK and J. HARRIS, *Byzantium in the tenth last era (ca 680–850). The sources: an annotated survey* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman monographs 7), Aldershot 2001, pp. 168 f.; A. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΩΛΙ, Η συγγραφή του *ἐκλογίου* του γεωργίου του σινκελλίου, 2, *Αθήνα* 2002, pp. 117–53; P. YANNPOULOS, “Comme le dit Georges le Syncelle ou, je pense, Théophane”, *Byz.* 74, 2004, pp. 439–46; HOWARD-JONES, *Witnesses*, pp. 272 f.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & J. Moniak (Havia et Indicia 19), Paris 2015, pp. 73–92.

18. As noted by Mango, *Who wrote the Chronicle*, p. 826, and ROSTOVZEV, *Byzance au 8. siècle*, p. 40. The latter also notes the error implied by Theophanes from the “Oriental source” that it had dated the year 6219 (AD 726/7) and AM 6230 (AD 727/8). Syncellus’s canon contains discrepancies with the work of Elias of Nisibis.

19. Theophanes’ induction is discussed in *Chronographia*.

20. The words used by C. Μαντζου in his edition.

21. See Mango, *Who wrote the Chronicle*, p. 826, and ROSTOVZEV, *Byzance au 8. siècle*, p. 40.

	Annales	Sources and parallels
1000 p. 100-101	p. 277 28-7	The parallel Syriac sources have a very different account (Hervet, Theophylactus p. 265)
1001 p. 102-103	Abbas et Imperator, duxit imperatorem et imperatorem, anno 1001 Imperi Constantinensi Gregorius ab Arculensis et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1002 p. 104-105	p. 288 24-30	
1003 p. 106-107	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1004 p. 108-109	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1005 p. 110-111	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1006 p. 112-113	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1007 p. 114-115	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1008 p. 116-117	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1009 p. 118-119	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1010 p. 120-121	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
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1016 p. 132-133	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1017 p. 134-135	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
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1150 p. 400-401	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1151 p. 402-403	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1152 p. 404-405	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1153 p. 406-407	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1154 p. 408-409	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1155 p. 410-411	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1156 p. 412-413	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1157 p. 414-415	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1158 p. 416-417	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1159 p. 418-419	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1160 p. 420-421	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1161 p. 422-423	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1162 p. 424-425	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1163 p. 426-427	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1164 p. 428-429	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1165 p. 430-431	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1166 p. 432-433	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1167 p. 434-435	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1168 p. 436-437	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1169 p. 438-439	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1170 p. 440-441	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1171 p. 442-443	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1172 p. 444-445	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1173 p. 446-447	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1174 p. 448-449	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1175 p. 450-451	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1176 p. 452-453	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1177 p. 454-455	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1178 p. 456-457	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1179 p. 458-459	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1180 p. 460-461	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1181 p. 462-463	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1182 p. 464-465	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1183 p. 466-467	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1184 p. 468-469	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1185 p. 470-471	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1186 p. 472-473	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1187 p. 474-475	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1188 p. 476-477	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1189 p. 478-479	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1190 p. 480-481	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1191 p. 482-483	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1192 p. 484-485	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1193 p. 486-487	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1194 p. 488-489	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1195 p. 490-491	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1196 p. 492-493	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1197 p. 494-495	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1198 p. 496-497	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1199 p. 498-499	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1200 p. 500-501	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1201 p. 502-503	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1202 p. 504-505	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1203 p. 506-507	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1204 p. 508-509	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1205 p. 510-511	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1206 p. 512-513	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1207 p. 514-515	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1208 p. 516-517	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1209 p. 518-519	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1210 p. 520-521	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1211 p. 522-523	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1212 p. 524-525	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1213 p. 526-527	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1214 p. 528-529	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1215 p. 530-531	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1216 p. 532-533	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1217 p. 534-535	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1218 p. 536-537	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1219 p. 538-539	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1220 p. 540-541	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1221 p. 542-543	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1222 p. 544-545	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1223 p. 546-547	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1224 p. 548-549	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1225 p. 550-551	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1226 p. 552-553	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1227 p. 554-555	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1228 p. 556-557	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1229 p. 558-559	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1230 p. 560-561	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1231 p. 562-563	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1232 p. 564-565	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1233 p. 566-567	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1234 p. 568-569	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1235 p. 570-571	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1236 p. 572-573	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1237 p. 574-575	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1238 p. 576-577	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1239 p. 578-579	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1240 p. 580-581	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1241 p. 582-583	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1242 p. 584-585	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1243 p. 586-587	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1244 p. 588-589	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1245 p. 590-591	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1246 p. 592-593	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1247 p. 594-595	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1248 p. 596-597	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1249 p. 598-599	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1250 p. 600-601	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1251 p. 602-603	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1252 p. 604-605	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1253 p. 606-607	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1254 p. 608-609	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1255 p. 610-611	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1256 p. 612-613	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1257 p. 614-615	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1258 p. 616-617	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1259 p. 618-619	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1260 p. 620-621	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1261 p. 622-623	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1262 p. 624-625	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1263 p. 626-627	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1264 p. 628-629	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1265 p. 630-631	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1266 p. 632-633	Abbas imperator et ceteri Martini ut praetuli	
1267 p. 634-635	Abbas imperator et c	

The words within apophyses in the proemium are especially important, since they certainly represent a sample of Theophanes' style. Further on, the fact that Anastasius contains six of these sentences (AM 5796, 6124, 6221, 6232, 6239, and 6278) as *ut praedicationem perhibet*, *ut praedixerunt*, and *ut praetuli*, proves that these phrases were present in the early manuscript of the *Chronographia*. Even in the numerous cases in which Anastasius offers no translation, the passages seem to have been more generally understood or omitted by him (proemium, AM 5943, 5963, and 6026). Only in AM 5942 Anastasius appears to have detected a repetition in Theophanes' entry. Now, the cross-references do not seem to have been copied from any sources when this can be checked: even the repetition regularly between AM 6124 and the *Chronicle of 1234* is likely to be the result of independent narrative choices. At any rate, they are employed at points in the sources where an authorial intervention is somehow expected, such as the opening of final parts of the *anno mundi* passages, in longer entries where a certain number of sentences are unavoidable, places where the continuity of the narrative is broken, resumptions of facts or events described several times earlier and then mentioned again in the present that do not follow the one-year rule in the internal structure, and *résumés*.

In the light of all this, it seems of special significance that none of the four forms of *metaphor* can be found in the *Edging Chronographian*, where cross-references are expressed in some way. In order to assess the full meaning of this divergence, one must take a broader perspective by first looking at the frequency of such expressions among other

writers. I have used the online *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* (TLG) for this purpose. In spite of the mechanical character of the approach and such little drawbacks as the hazards of transmission, the variety of genres and styles, and the gaps in coverage, the search showed that the forms that interest us here are attested 230 times in the works of ca. 90 authors from the Hellenistic era down to the 16th century, from theological writings and hagiography through scientific treatises and historical narratives to magical spells (e.g. in a Christian incantation from the 4th century¹), from almost all parts of the Greek-speaking world. In spite of appearances, these are not very large numbers, for the TLG sample currently includes 2,380 authors.

The vast majority of Byzantine *literari* did not use the expression *ὁς ἀποστήν/ἀποστήσκει*. There is not a single occurrence in Nilus of Ancyra, Julian, Gregory Nazianzen, Procopius, Arethas, John Zonaras, Gemistus Pletho and many others, and only two in the works of John Chrysostom (plus another one in his *spuria*); one instance is to be found in Palamas, three in Photius. There are very a few historians, including authors who only occasionally wrote historical works throughout their lives or who shared historical interests: Palladius (1 sg.), John the Lydian (4 pl.), the unknown author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (1 sg.), George the Monk (1 pl.), Photius (3 pl.), Constantine VII (2 pl.), Michael Attaleiates (3 pl.), John Tzetzes (3 sg., 3 pl.), George Acropolites (1 sg., 1 pl.), Nicephorus Gregoras (1 pl.), the editor of Pachymeres (1 pl.), John Cananus (1 pl.), Ducas (2 pl.), Macarius Melissenus (1 sg., 2 pl.), and the author of the *Ektthesis chronica* (1 pl.). Only four of them lived earlier than Theophanes, but none used the expression more frequently than he did; single instances predominate.

Expressions with *prophetai* thus appear to be rare and to reflect the linguistic preferences of individual authors. This is illustrated, for example, by the way in which the plural form *oἱ prophetai* was used to replace the archaising phrase *ἡ ὁς διη καὶ πάλαι* in the abridgement of the *History* of George Pachymetres.¹ In fact, in the extant corpus of the ancient and mediaeval Greek literature, only three authors use our expressions more often than Theophanes: the early Christian apologist Justin Martyr (17 sg. and 15 pl.); the monastic writer Neophytus the Recluse, who died in Cyprus in 1214 (6 sg. and 9 pl.); and his contemporary Nicholas of Otranto, who died in 1235 (3 sg. and 10 pl.). The number of occurrences in the works of the next writers—Irenaeus (7 pl.), John Tzetzes (as above), Theodore Meliteniotes (6 pl.)—is substantially smaller. The distance in space and time between Justin, Theophanes, Neophytus and Nicholas is obvious: *prophetai/prophetaev* can indeed be taken to be a characteristic feature of the Theophanes' individual style.

Theophanes' style may or may not have been inspired by Justin. A comparison with Justin's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* and both apologies⁸ highlights, however, another

6. *Papyri Graecae magiae* = Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. 2. Ausg. von K. Preisendanz und A. Henrichs, 2., verb. Auflage, Stuttgart 1974, p. 225.

7. Compare *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaelis et Andronico Palaeologis libri tresdecim*, rec. I. Bekker, Bonnæ 1835, VI, 24, p. 613.17 and *La version brève des Relations historiques de Georges Pachymère. I, livres I-VI*, éd. du texte grec et commentaire par A. Failler (*Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 17), Paris 2001, *ibid.* IV, 281, p. 179.12.

8. Justin is notable for the exceptional density of the parenthetical clauses that interest us here, sometimes found close to one another in the same passage or sentence: cf. *ὁ, ἀποφύγετε* and *ὁ, προσηλύτωται* in *Apol.* I, 54, 5.

	ὡς προήχθη and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη + ὅτι/ὅτι ἔφη	ὡς ἀνείργηται and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἐφαρμόσθη + ὅτι/ὅτι ἐφαρμόσθη
Nicophorus the Resolute	6	1	9	8 + 1
Nicholas or Oranto	3	3	10	9
Manuel Pithagoras	1			
Andrew Labadinos	1	0 + 1		
George Acropolitēs	1	9	1	9 + 1
George Metrochites	1	1	2	4
Gregory Acindynus	-	16	1	1
Gregory Palamas	-	5	1	3
David Diakryanos	-	2	3	1
Schol. coll. <i>Manastira</i>	-		2	1
Thomas Magiater	-		2	7
Nicophorus Gregoras	-	5	1	21
Philothheus Coccomus	1	32 + 1		6 + 2
Theodore Melitenotes	-	-	6	26 + 3
John of Pachynates	-	-	1	20 + 1
Symeon of Thessalonica	2		2	4
Manuel II	1	2 + 1		
John Canavos	-		1	
Ducas	-		3	2
Sphrantzes/Melissenos	1		2	3
<i>Philothei Chronika</i>	-		1	

In spite of its circumstantial character, this evidence points strongly to Theophanes' *Chronographia*, distinguishable both from George and from other Constantinopolitan writers. In sum, a standardising redaction of the *Chronicle* was undertaken only once as a single process and was not repeated later for the whole narrative from Diocletian to the 9th century. This does not mean that individual entries did not undergo further deliberate modifications before the split of the manuscript tradition that followed Anastasius the Librarian's translation. The arrangement of the narrative with the use of *prophetai*, however, was, however, of a primary character, and was an author's work rather than an editor's. There is at present no reason to think of anybody else but Theophanes himself.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In many cases, it is hard to attribute apparently typical expressions to Theophanes' *Chronika* or their sources.¹¹ Some forms of the verbs *deiknō* and *deixnumi* and compounds were, however, to have been favoured by George alone. Thus only one reference to the past with *deēthēnetai* is found in the *Chronographia* and it most likely comes from

Theophanes' source¹². On the contrary, the past forms of *προδεδείχθαι*, including the participle, appear throughout the *Eklōge chronographia* (Caesari, Syncell):

δεδήλωται / ὡς δεδήλωται / ὡς [...] δεδήλωται

1. p. 43.6–7: μετὰ γὰρ τὸν κατακλασμὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεδήλωται ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλείᾳ.
2. p. 77.1–6: αἶψα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἀμῶν, Ἀμῶνις ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Τίθμιος υἱὸς Ἀσὴθ, ὡς δηλωθήσεται· καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰερεὺς Νισφραγμοῦθις ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀμῶνις τῶνται λεγόμενος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον Ἀμῶνιν, ἥτοι Ἀμῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἢ πρὸ δ' τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἔτιον, Μωυσῆς γινώσκται, ὡς δεδήλωται, κατὰ τὸ γλβ' ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου.
3. p. 278.3–7: ὁ μέντοι Ἰάσηππος συνηρίθμισεν αὐτά, ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται. ἔτη, εἰπὼν ἀφανῆ τὸν ναὸν μεῖναι ἀπὸ τοῦ 10^{ου} ἔτους Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἵσας τοῦ β' ἔτους Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Χαλδαίων Συρίας τε καὶ Αὐδῶν βασιλείας κρατήσαντες.
4. p. 335.9–15: μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθάρεισιν Περσῶν τῷ ζ' τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἥτοι πρώτῳ τῆς Ἑλλήνων βασιλείας ἔτι ('Ελλήνας γὰρ καὶ Μακεδόνες κατὰ τὴν τῶν Μακκαβαίων γραφὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεμαθήκαμεν), ἐξ ἧν ἢ τε κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου διατρεθεῖσαι ἀρχὴ εἰς ἀρχάς, τὴν τε καὶ Αἴγυπτον τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τῶν Ἀντιόχων καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς, ὡς ἐκεῖ δεδήλωται, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μακεδονίαν [...].
5. p. 354.2–7: τότε δύο στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθέντες εἰς μὲν ἀνιρέθη, θάτερος δὲ ζωγρηθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐστάλη πρὸς αἰχμαλωτῆς πολλοῖς, αὐτοὺς τε ἀνοξεύξας Σκηπίων [...] τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν καταγόντων τὸ γένος εἰς κρατυόντων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνων Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας καὶ Ἀσίας, ἐν γένει δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Βαβυλωνία, τῆς Μακεδόνων δυναστείας ὑποφύρου Ῥωμαίων ταχθείσης, ὡς πρὸ βραχείας δεδήλωται.

ὡς προδεδείχεται

- a. p. 56.7–10: Οὕτως οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νῶε τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης διαμερισθείσης θεῶν προστάγματι, ὡς προδεδείχεται, τῷ β' β' ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου, γλ' δὲ τῆς τοῦ δικαίου

11. Theoph. *act* 6232, p. 413.4–10: καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἐπὶ Μωσῆος τοῦ ἀσκήτου καὶ Χριστιανῶς συνεβή περὶ τὴν ὁρθόδοξον πίστιν καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν διακρίσεων αἰσχροῦ κερδῶς καὶ φιλαργυρίας ἐπινοήσας κατὰ τὴν Συκελίαν καὶ Καλαβρίαν καὶ Κρήτην, ἢ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποστασίου διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακοδοξίαν, σπειροῖ τε καὶ λαοὶ καὶ κοινὰ καὶ ἴδιον ἐπαναστάσεις, οὗ τοι κατὰ μέρες ἐβήσαν, ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι δεδήλωται κεφαλαῖσις. Cf. *Apoc.*, p. 268.7–13: *et quidem quatuordecim sub Leone imperio Christianis exierunt, sine cura orthodoxam fidem, sine asperis malis dispositionibus, sine asperis turris fuerit quatuor et annis per Siciliam, Calabriae et Cretae adveniens pariter et impetita, sine in Italiae armis propter huius caecitatem, sine in fame ac pestilentia gentiumque pressuris, ut particularia nomina in praecedentibus ostendantur capitulis*. The cross-reference points to nothing in the transmitted text. See *Manastira* – Scott, p. 574 n. 11, suspecting that 'this passage has been mechanically copied from an iconophile tract similar in spirit to Nikephoros' *Antirrheticus* III, which dwells on the plague, famine, and earthquakes in the reign of Constantine V.' On the *Chronika*'s source here see W. BRASCH, 'Die byzantinische Chronik des Theophanes und die byzantinische Chronik des Theophanes', in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 100 (1997), pp. 1–25, esp. pp. 120–2.

καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἐτὼν τῆς κατὰ τὴν πυργοποιίαν διασποράς, τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ
αὐτοῖς 1-3

ρ. 201, 8-9: περὶ ὧν ὁ Καισαρεύς Εὐσέβιος οὗτος σφόδρα αὐτὸν καταμέμφεται
κατασκευῆς σκελετοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς, ὥς προδεδήλωται, ἕως ἐτῶν στ'.

ρ. 201, 27-30: ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῖς <ἦν> προφητεύων κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους
Οὐσίας υἱὸς Ἀρκαίου, ὃν φυγόντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγὼν ὁ Ἰσακεῖμ ἀνείλε, καὶ Ἰερεμίας
ἀνέστη καὶ αὐτός, ὥς προδεδήλωται, τῆς προφητείας ἀπὸ τοῦ ιγ' ἔτους Ἰωακίου.

ρ. 271, 12-23: Οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν παρελογίσαντο καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ
στ' ἔτους Σιδερίου ἕως τοῦ β' ἔτους Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσκου τὰ ο' ἔτη ἐπιλογισάμενος
φανερὰ ἰσθ' ὅν γὰρ ἐχρὴν αὐτῷ τὰ λοιπὰ κ' ἔτη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, τοῦ καὶ
τοῦ Ἀλκιμα τοῦ ἐθνους ποιησαμένου, λογίσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, λέγω
δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐστάθου Μυροδάξ καὶ Νιριγλήσαρου τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ,
ὥς προδεδήλωται. εἴη' εἰς τὸν Ναβόννηδον τὸν καὶ Δαρεῖον Ἀστυάγην τὸν
Ἀσσυρίων ἐλθεῖν ὡς γέγραπεν ἐσχάτος βασιλεὺς Μήδων ἀπὸ Ἀρβάκου τοῦ καθελόντος
τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλῶνος τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ὑστάτον βασιλέα Σαρδανάπαλλον.

ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ

III ρ. 281, 9-12: καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀστυάγην τὸν προδεδηλωμένον αὐτοῦ πάππον βασιλεύοντα
Μήδων, καθελὼν τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσήξε βασιλείαν, Μήδων βασιλευσάντων ἔτη που
μετὰ Σαρδανάπαλλον ἀπὸ Ἀρβάκου Μήδου τοῦ καθελόντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν
ἀρχῆν.

In all probability, the examples above provide us with George's own words. We can
be sure of this for nos. 1 and 3, which express the chronographer's criticism of his source,
and for no. 2, where Syncellus comments on Eusebian chronology. The cross-reference
to nos. 4 and 5 above both Euseb. (Macc. 1, 1-11 and Eusebius (I, 59, 4-10)),¹² while no. 5,
found in the final section of the *prodelan* rubric ('miscellany'), has no equivalent in any
known source. No. 8 is the chronographer's epitome of a biblical account and in no. 10 it is
possible that perhaps the rubric is absent from George's sources, and it is consistent
with his own attitudes.¹³ In the whole chronicle, only one passage of this kind is not
argued: ρ. 437, 30-2 (ὡς γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν Σιδερίου καίαν, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις
καὶ τὰς ἀνάσεις καὶ τὰς ἐκβάσεις, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν), a quote from Josephus.¹⁴
All in all, these passages reflect a highly academic style of discourse that is typical of
George, as has to be seen comparing his sources.

The *prodelan* of 800 in the *haute* sense complement the picture. Again, these
are not the case of Theophanes and pseudo-dionysius.¹⁵ This is not the case of George, who

used phrases of the ὡς δηλωθήσεται-type four times, three of which certainly expressing
authorial comments,¹⁶ one referring, however, to a calculation that does not appear
elsewhere.¹⁷ This could well be just an episodic inconsistency. Be that as it may, the
use of *delō* in similar constructions, a rare phenomenon in Theophanes, appears to be
typical of George. In short, the differences described here stem from the highly discursive
language of George Syncellus, reflected in his chronological commentaries and in his
critical approach towards his sources. The analysis of George's similar use of the forms of
deiknumi (below, Appendix) brings us to the very heart of the question of the authorship
of the *Chronographia*.

THEOPHANES AND GEORGE'S ὁφορμαί

Theophanes was much less of a polemical writer than George. As the English translator
acutely pointed out, however, he occasionally engaged in arguments that required some
demonstrative strength. Two entries reveal this attitude and should be reconsidered in
the present context.¹⁸

AM 5827 (AD 334/335), pp. 32, 25-33, 8: ταῦτα τῷ τριακοστῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει γέγονε τοῦ
μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκοποῦντος τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν,
καὶ οὐχ ὡς φησὶν Εὐσέβιος μόνος, ὡς ὁ Νικομηδείας Εὐσέβιος, ὅτε εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τὰ
κατὰ Ἀθανασίου ἐσκεύαζεν, τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἐπέιχεν, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ
ἐκ τῆς τῶν χρόνων ομάδος δείκνυται ψεῦδος, ἐπεὶπερ Κωνσταντίνος τὰ ὅλα ἔτη λβ'
ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃς μετὰ τὴν πρώτην δεκατηρίδα, τῷ δεκάτῳ τρίτῳ αὐτοῦ ἔτει, καταλαβὼν
τὸ Βυζάντιον Μητροφάνην τὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐρεν ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἴτα Ἀλέξανδρος
ἔτη τρία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπισκόπησεν ὥς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου
Κωνσταντίνου ἕως κοιμήσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη λζ', ἅπερ Κωνσταντίνος οὐκ ἐφθασεν
καὶ οὗτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς χρονικῆς ομάδος δείκνυται μὴ ἄρξαι τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου
τοῦ θρόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνωτέρω περὶ
Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀθανασίου, ἥ τε γὰρ Ἀθανασίου ἐξορία καὶ ἡ Ἀρείου κατάλυσις μετὰ τὸ
τριακοστὸν ἔτος Κωνσταντίνου γέγονε καὶ μετὰ τὰ ἐγκαίνια Ἱεροσολύμων ὃ δὲ μέγας
Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι περιῆν.

AM 5828 (AD 335/336), p. 33, 17-22: καὶ ἐπιβὰς Κωνσταντίνος ὁ εὐσεβὴς τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ
πόλει κατὰ Περσῶν παραταξάμενος, ἀσθενήσας ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὥς τινες φησὶν
Ἀρειανόφρονες τότε κατεξιώθειν τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Νικομηδείας
μετατεθέντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὅπερ ψεῦδές ἐστιν, ὥς ἀποδέδεικται ἐν γὰρ Ρώμῃ
ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐβαπτίσθη, ὥς προαπεδείξαμεν.¹⁹

Identification of the source see Blass, *Pejorative Phrasen* (quoted n. 11), AM 303,
p. 493, 10, ὡς ἐξῆς δηλωθήσεται, source unknown.

16. George, Sync., pp. 77, 1-2, 359, 16-24, 378, 30-379, 2.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 368, 16-8, and the apparatus; cf. Anna - Tournis, p. 439 n. 8.
18. See MASTEN - SCOTT, p. 32 n. 3, on AM 5814, 'one of Theophanes' rare authorial comments
and places where he resorts to argument'; *ibid.*, p. 84 n. 16, speaking of AM 5814, 5827 and 5847 as
'two examples of Theophanes resorting to argument [...]'.
19. Anna, p. 87, 9-15; *note Constantinianum cum transisset in τὴν Νικομήδειαν καὶ μετατέθειται Ρώμῃ
προβήτατος, language praecedens in prior document, nota, ut quidam censent, non cum Aetio conuenit, sed
ante*

12. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 1081, 274-275, 141. Cf. Euseb., *A lost Byzantine
Chronicle*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 199-204.
13. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 274-275 and 1, 52, 29-33.
14. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 1081, 274-275, 141. Cf. Euseb., *A lost Byzantine
Chronicle*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 199-204.
15. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 1081, 274-275, 141. Cf. Euseb., *A lost Byzantine
Chronicle*, ed. Eusebius, pp. 199-204.

I would like to suggest that these passages were written by George Syncellus. Many details correspond to George's style and method: the argumentation; the special polemics with Eusebius of Caesarea; the expression of opinions on the periods and reigns; the interest in bishops, visible in the last parts of the *Ekklogē*; counting the periods of the world from Constantine the Great.²⁷ To these more general remarks, it should be added that Ast 582⁷ has the only example of δεικνύται (occurring three times here) in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. Although such a form is also rare in George's work, it is more visible in the *Ekklogē* (see the Appendix below, *Present tense*); the only instance of ὁσὶν φησὶ in the *Chronographia* is at Ast 5827.

Whereas the only instance of ὡς φησιν in the *Chronographia* is at Λπ1 5827, this expression is much more popular in the *Ebloge chronographias* (p. 258, 20–2; τὰς δὲ ἀποδείξεις ἀπο τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς προφητείας Ἱεροσολύμων, ὡς φησιν Εὐαγγέλιος, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν κρητὸν ἀποδείξαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἀκριβὲς σφύσσεται). The expression ὡς φησιν is more 'popular' predominantly added by George and not taken from his sources, occurring 12 times (mostly once) throughout the *Ebloge chronographias*.²² Φησιν is generally rare in Byzantine Greek (11 occurrences), but occurs 121 times in George's writings;²³ the only instances of ὡς ἀποδίδεικται and ὡς ποιεῖται

in the Oxygraphia, whereas George, as I have shown, used the former nine times and the latter once.

The judgment of Constantine's baptism at AM 5814 should also be attributed to George, as is suggested further by the use of *ἐποὶ δὲ ... πρὶν ἐμν* to express one's views, a formula further typical of George's style.¹¹ The same is probably true of the discussion of Eusebius's *concordia* at AM 5818 and the passage at AM 5796 (pp. 11, 13–9): George's *ἀπολογία* of Eusebius finds here its final expression.

Let us first suggest that the first folios of the *Chronographia* should be separated from the one gathered with the *Philos. Chronographia*. On the contrary, we are possibly

ad hunc, "omninoque Christiani imperatores, in quorum ecclesiis baptismum percipere: quod mandatum a nobis datum est, **et** comprobatur. Idcirco prope a Silvio baptizatus est, quemadmodum et promissum est, quod auctor huius libri, Pichius, p. 532.⁷⁻¹³.

22. The *Journal of Law and Economics*, vol. 35, 200-3, 361-9, 2014 (1988), 1-2.

[illegible]

1. The word *ἀρχαῖος* (archaios) is a common Greek word meaning 'old' or 'ancient'. It is used in the text to describe the 'old' or 'ancient' form of the word *ἀρχαῖος* (archaios).

...and the *Chomographia* the expression is not used in the same way as in the other encounters similar situation.

closer than ever before to understanding what George's *synopsis*, referred to by Theophanes in the preface, consisted in: "notes," which did not reach, however, beyond Constantine.²⁰ It is improbable that Syncellus both prepared the source material and composed the text of the *Chronicle* for the remaining centuries. The polemical outbursts described above are stylistically, factually, and logically bound and may therefore be regarded as Syncellus' last engagement with his sources, which was faithfully transmitted by his friend Theophanes.

THE "GENUINE FRIENDSHIP" OF GEORGE AND THEOPHANES

This leads me to accept the preface to the *Chronographia* at face value, against all hypercritical assessments of the *Vitae* of Theophanes, which involve risky psychological assessments.²⁰ The preface reflects the "style" of the era, with an attitude of humility (ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἱστυῶν ἀρεθίαν οὐκ ἀγνωκύντες καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ λόγου περητούμεθα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὥς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶς τὴν ἐγγένησιν οὐσαν / ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμοθέσι καὶ ἀμωρτωλοῖς / ἀρεθία ἡμῶν ... καὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ τοῦ χαμερποῦς νοῦς ἡμῶν), a taste for theotēria (τοῦ γὰρ μικρὸν ὠφέλειαν, ὥς οἶμοι, καρποῦται τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς πράξεις ἀναγινώσκων), and admiration for the predecessor (ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ πολυμαθέστατος ὑπάρχων). But below this layer we discover two personalities, the interactions between them, and the origins of their common project. Some words point out George's activity (πολλοὺς τε χρονογράφους καὶ ιστοριογράφους ἀναγνοῖς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τούτους διερευνήσασμενος, σύντομον χρονογραφίαν [...] ἀκριβῶς συνεγράψατο / τοῖς τε χρόνοις ἐν πολλῇ ἐξετάσει ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ τὰς τούτων διαφορὰς συμβιβάσας καὶ ἐπιδιορθωσάμενος καὶ συστήσας ὥς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ), while others testify to Theophanes' *isprui* (ἡμῖν, ὥς γνησίοις φίλοις, τὴν τε βίβλον ἥν συνέταξε καταέλελοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι / κόπον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα κτεταβαλόμεθα, πολλὰς γὰρ βίβλους καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκζητήσαντες κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐρευνήσαντες τότε τὸ χρονογραφεῖον / κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἂν' ἐπιτυχῶν συντάξοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ιστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογιγράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳι τόποις τετίχημεν ἐκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις, ἰστορηχίτως κατατάττοντες / φίλων γὰρ θεῶν τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν).

The author of the preface calls himself George's γνήσιος φίλος. How are we to understand this "genuine friendship"? The expression never occurs in George's *Ecklogē*, although the adjective γνήσιος is used in the sense of "legitimate." Thus George has γνησίους ἀνελών παῖδας for "legitimate offspring" (Georg. Sync., p. 354.10–1), τοῖς

25. On the *topographē* mentioned in Theophanes' preface, see Mango. Who wrote the Chronicle pp. 91f.; Ševčenko, *The search for the past* (quoted n. 2), p. 287; Mango – Scott, p. 4; Kazhdan, *A history* (quoted n. 2), pp. 216f.; Andrić – Turpin, pp. lxxx–lxxxiii; P. Southern, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–864*, Leiden 2012, pp. 81. Even in the initial *anxi mundi* traces of Theophanes' intervention are apparent: the use of *ὡς ἀποῶν* in *an* 579b, or *ὡς παρὰ τὴν* in the first sentence of *an* 581a. The latter expression is also found in *an* 597b, p. 130.15 and *an* 610b, p. 301.1 (there in the Oriental account). George preferred *ὡς τὴν*; *quoniam*: e.g. pp. 313.13 and 329.8.

26. Is there really "an undeniable discrepancy between the saint's character and the attributes one would expect in a compiler of a massive work of historiography and computation" (Mason = Scott, p. 40)? Cf. Mason, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 11 f., for a similar perception.

FROM THE MANY, ONE? THE SHARED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *CHRONICLE OF THEOPHANES* AND THE *CHRONOGRAPHY OF SYNKELLOS*

by Jesse W. TORGERSON

What did George Synkellos (died ca. 810) have to do with the *Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor* (completed ca. 814)?¹ Quite a lot, according to the current scholarly consensus. Research on the *Chronicle of Theophanes* has long since established that the relationship between author and text is much more complicated than the clear paternity implied by “of Theophanes.” The question is no longer *whether* Synkellos should also be considered an author, but *to what extent*.

At the risk of oversimplification, arguments on the issue now tend to focus on either the direct or the indirect evidence found in the *Chronicle*; both continue to generate hypotheses. By “indirect evidence” I refer to decades of collaborative and painstaking efforts to track down the origins of unattributed quotations, as well as to analyze the style, diction, and syntax of countless individual passages. Scholars taking this approach to the question of authorship have—by and large—concluded that the *Chronicle* was at least partially compiled by someone other than Theophanes. Synkellos himself likely wrote significant portions, though it is difficult to establish consensus on any particular passage.² Interpretation of the direct evidence is no less fraught. Theophanes stated in

* I would like to thank the organizers of the colloquium for their foresight and initiative as well as for their encouragement and feedback. My footnotes only partially reflect my particular indebtedness to Filippo Ronconi, whose recent publications did so much to clarify my thinking prior to the conference, and whose subsequent generosity with feedback has greatly improved the piece and saved me from a number of errors. I trust that those which remain will be attributed to nothing but my own limitations.

1. If Cyril Mango’s field-changing discussion began with the question “Who wrote the *Chronicle of Theophanes*?”, by the end of his article it was clear that the nature of Synkellos’ role as author, co-author, or editor would be the predominant issue for subsequent investigations.

2. After Mango’s article, some fundamental studies continued to move the debate forward including: P. Sevcik’s *Das geteilte Dossier: Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Bonn 1988; and, R. Krawinkel’s *Kaiser Leo III., die Hronoz im 8. Jahrhundert. Particularly relevant in the late Professor Sevcik’s Kaiser Leo III., die Hronoz im 8. Jahrhundert. Particularly relevant in the late Professor Sevcik’s Kaiser Leo III., die Hronoz im 8. Jahrhundert. Particularly relevant in the late Professor Sevcik’s Kaiser Leo III., die Hronoz im 8. Jahrhundert.*

Studies on Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & T. Montanaro (Trautman 199), Paris 2015, pp. 93–117.

in "Preface" than he assembled the *Chronicle* at the dying request of George Synkellos, who was unable to complete his great *Chronography*. Nevertheless, Theophanes used an ambiguous word—*oxypuri*—to describe what Synkellos bequeathed him to help with the task.¹ Did Synkellos hand Theophanes a "file box" of loose notes, did he give him a neatly written text to lightly edit, or something else entirely?

In all of this the authorship of the *Chronicle* has remained the predominant concern, with investigations proceeding along the well-worn track of the two authors' relationship in the one text, the *Chronicle*. The conversation has yet to be formulated in a way that shifts the emphasis away from Theophanes to Synkellos, despite the unquestioned fact that the *Chronicle*—whoever wrote it—was the continuation of George Synkellos' *Chronography*, and despite the consensus hypothesis that Synkellos' personal contribution to the text of the *Chronicle* was significant. The present article leaves in suspense the contentious issue of authorship—if only for a moment—to address these issues by posing a different question, one of presentation, reception, and the circulation of the texts in these manuscript codices. What did the *Chronography* of George Synkellos have to do with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor in physical, material terms?

There is a precedent for suggesting the two texts' manuscripts have something to do with each other. Alden Mosshammer, editor of the most recent critical edition of Synkellos' *Chronography*, identified an inhibition in describing the transmission of the *Chronography* along the usual lines, as the gradual corruption of the authorial "Ur-text," in his consideration of the manuscript evidence. Mosshammer arrived at the idea that the *Chronography* originally circulated in two parts or in two different forms.² Mosshammer depicted this in his stemma as a separation between a "G1" and a "G2" branch of manuscripts:

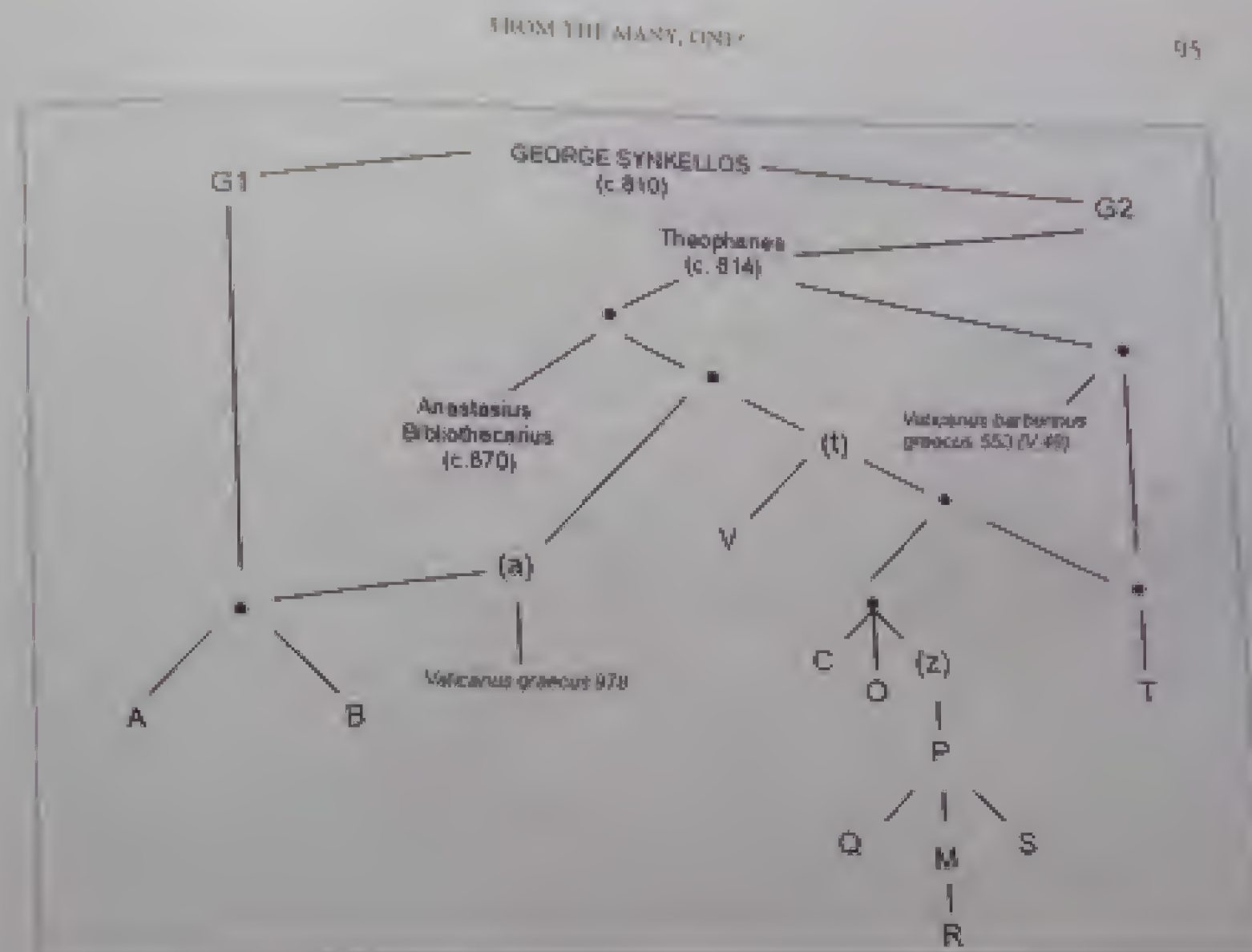


Fig. 1 – Stemma of surviving manuscripts of the *Chronography* of George Synkellos.
Re-drawn by the author on the basis of:
Georg. Syncl., pp. xv & xviii.

The manuscripts of Mosshammer's "G1" branch contain the entire *Chronography* and so were accorded superiority even though they are not the earliest copies. Most of the manuscripts in the "G2" branch are closer in time to the original. Unfortunately these earlier manuscripts contain only the latter portion of the *Chronography*. As in Figure 1, Mosshammer noted a further complication: the portion of the *Chronography* in the "G2" manuscripts was often accompanied by the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.³ Thus, Mosshammer's reconstruction of the relationships between the surviving manuscripts seems to suggest that the manuscript tradition of Synkellos' *Chronography* is fundamentally "Theophanic."

Studies of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes have not made a corresponding gesture. Though Mosshammer published his edition in 1984, it has remained unclear whether, and to what extent, the manuscript tradition of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is similarly "Synkellian." That is, though Cyril Mango and Roger Scott did account for additional manuscript findings between de Boor's critical edition (1883) and their critical translation of the *Chronicle* (1997), Synkellos' *Chronography* remains completely absent from the *Chronicle*'s updated stemma:

6. Note that by placing the node "Theophanes" directly under "G2" in the stemma Mosshammer only meant to indicate that all copies under the "G2" stemma of the *Chronography* also contained the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, but not the inverse (that all copies of the *Chronicle* contain the *Chronography*).

1. See, e.g., Theophanes' *Chronicle* (pp. 20-21) and, a final clue on whether a first (or second) "Dossier" of Synkellos lay behind the *Chronicle* and Theophanes (pp. 573-6). See now P. YANNOPOULOS' definitive edition of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (c. 814) (pp. 739-818): *un historien orthodoxe du monde grec, 814-820* (pp. 233-73). On the possibility of identifying Theophanes' and Synkellos' "sources" for the *Chronicle*'s material concerning the regions of Syria and Palestine, see the introduction to the present volume by M. COSTANTINO, M. DEBIÉ, and R. HOVLAND.

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Chronographai ends just after Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, in the midst of the triumphal general's return to Rome with Aristoboulos—the captured king of the Jews—and the king's family. I provide the complete Greek text but an abbreviated translation for emphasis:

Ο Πομπήιος περιειδὼς Σικυρώφ διεπριν καὶ δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰ τάγματα πρὸς σφοδρὰν εἰς Ῥώμην ἡγίετο διὰ Κιλικίας, αὐτὸς τὸν μέγιστον κατατείξον Θριαμβικῶν, μεταμένους τοῖς ἡγεθέντας αὐτῶν βασιλεῖς Φαρνάκην Μηθριδάτην υἱόν, τὸν καὶ κορυμμήσαντο τὸν ἴδιον ἀνελθὼν πατέρα Μηθριδάτην τῇ πρὸς Πομπήιον χάρει καὶ αὐτῷ, κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστάσεων, Κόλχων ἦντι Λαζῶν βασιλεῖα, ἔρχοντες Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου Ἰουδαίων βασιλεῖα σὺν θυγατρὶσι δυσὶ καὶ υἱοῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Αντιγόνῳ, ὃν ὁ νεώτερος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδρῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμψεν ἐπιστάσεων, ὥς δηλωθήσεται.

Pompey [...] set out on route to Rome [...] [and] brought with him those he had defeated [...] Aristoboulos king of the Jews, along with his two daughters and sons, Alexander and Antigonus. Alexander, the younger of the two, escaped on the way and—inciting rebellion—made his way back to Judea, as will be explained.²¹

The text then continues on the fourth line of the folio with the decorated initial Π:

Πομπήιος οὖν καὶ ἡρκία Λαζῶν τὰ Ἱερουσόλημα Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν δέσποινον σὺν τοῖς παισὶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Αντιγόνῳ κατέειχεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἁπτόν, Θριαμβεύσας καὶ ἄλλων Ἰβήων βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας.

Pompey, then, upon capturing Jerusalem by siege, took Aristoboulos captive along with his sons Alexander and Antigonus and departed for Rome, to lead in triumph the kings and leaders of the other nations as well.²²

As is readily apparent, between these two sentences the plot actually regresses chronologically.

Alexander's escape from Rome and subsequent rebellion in Judea had just been mentioned at the top of fol. 120, and yet following the decorated initial (*littera notabilior*) the narrative immediately travels back in time, as Alexander is once again held captive by Pompey on the way to Rome. Additionally, the promise at the end of *Chronographai* due Alexander's rebellion "will be explained" (δηλωθήσεται) seems to be a completely unnecessary promise; the rebellion occurs a few lines later on the very same folio (fig. 3, fol. reproduced inset). It seems strange for Synkellos to have felt the need to promise a story that would appear so soon:

ὁ δὲ νεώτερος υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρωτότοκος, ἀποδρῶς τὸν Πομπήιον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔρχεται καὶ πάλιν βασιλεὺς κρατῆρας παλαιῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐρχῆς ὑπὸ Γαβριέλου καὶ Αντιπάτρου καὶ κυβερνῶν ἐκδηλῶσεται.

²¹ *Chronographai*, M 400.24–28 and/or AT 431 for a full translation. Adler and Fortin add *κατατείξον* (i.e., "he will be crowned later"). Though this is clearly the sense of the clause, I have not included it in my translation, as it is not in the original Greek.

²² *Chronographai*, *Chronographai* 10.10.1. Pompey's return to the front of the sentence, as in the

Aristoboulos clause, as Alexander escaped from Pompey and arrived in Judea. After gaining control over a large body of Jews and even the government for a short while, he was attacked and routed by Calpurn and Antony.

Considering all of these issues, why would Synkellos intentionally write such a patently incongruent narrative?

Returning to the manuscript itself, the particular decoration of the text on that folio—the combination of acanthus leaves stretching into both the left and right margins, along with a large three-dimensional capital letter—contains a number of irregularities that are entirely out of sorts with the patterns established over the course of the manuscript.²³ While both of these decorative elements occur with some frequency throughout *Paris*, gr. 1764, in combination they occur on only one other folio, on fol. 17 (compare fig. 3 and fig. 4).

In order to judge the significance of this parallel in particular, it is necessary to establish the decorative patterns utilized over the course of the manuscript by our scribe. *Paris*, gr. 1764 is filled with examples of two-dimensional, block letter *litterae notabiles* that vary in height up to approximately twice the height of a regular minuscule letter. Some of these block capitals are colored in but most are not. A number of examples can be drawn from a single opening seven pages prior to fol. 120, the opening of fol. 116–117

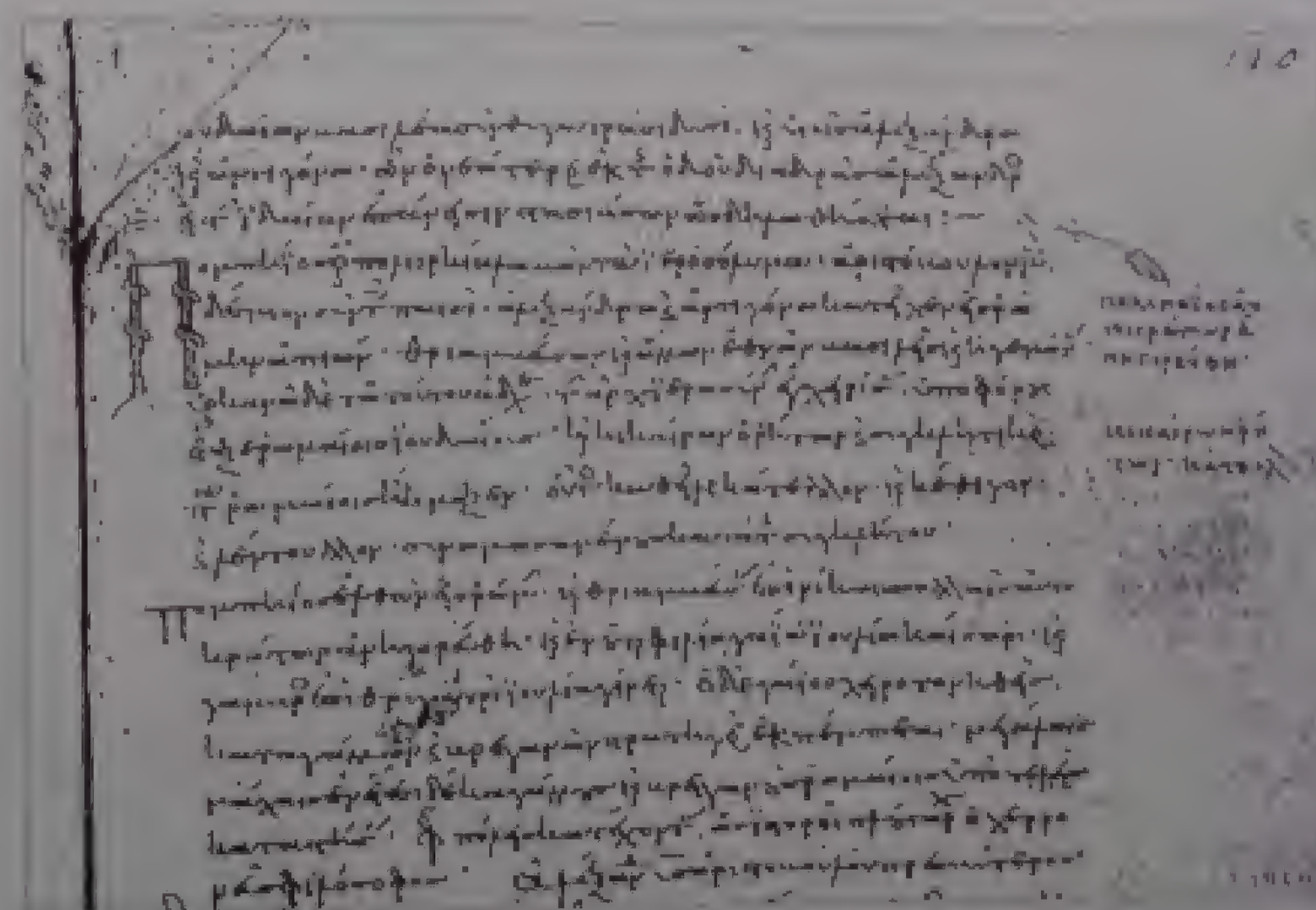


Fig. 3. Detail: *Parados Genua* 1764, fol. 120 (top). Detail of the transition between *Chronographai* and *Chronographai*—MS 5434—in the only surviving "Chronography only" manuscript.

²³ M 400.24–361.1 / AT 432.

²⁴ See the comments by Mossman, *Geogr. Syncl.*, p. 100, app. 100.

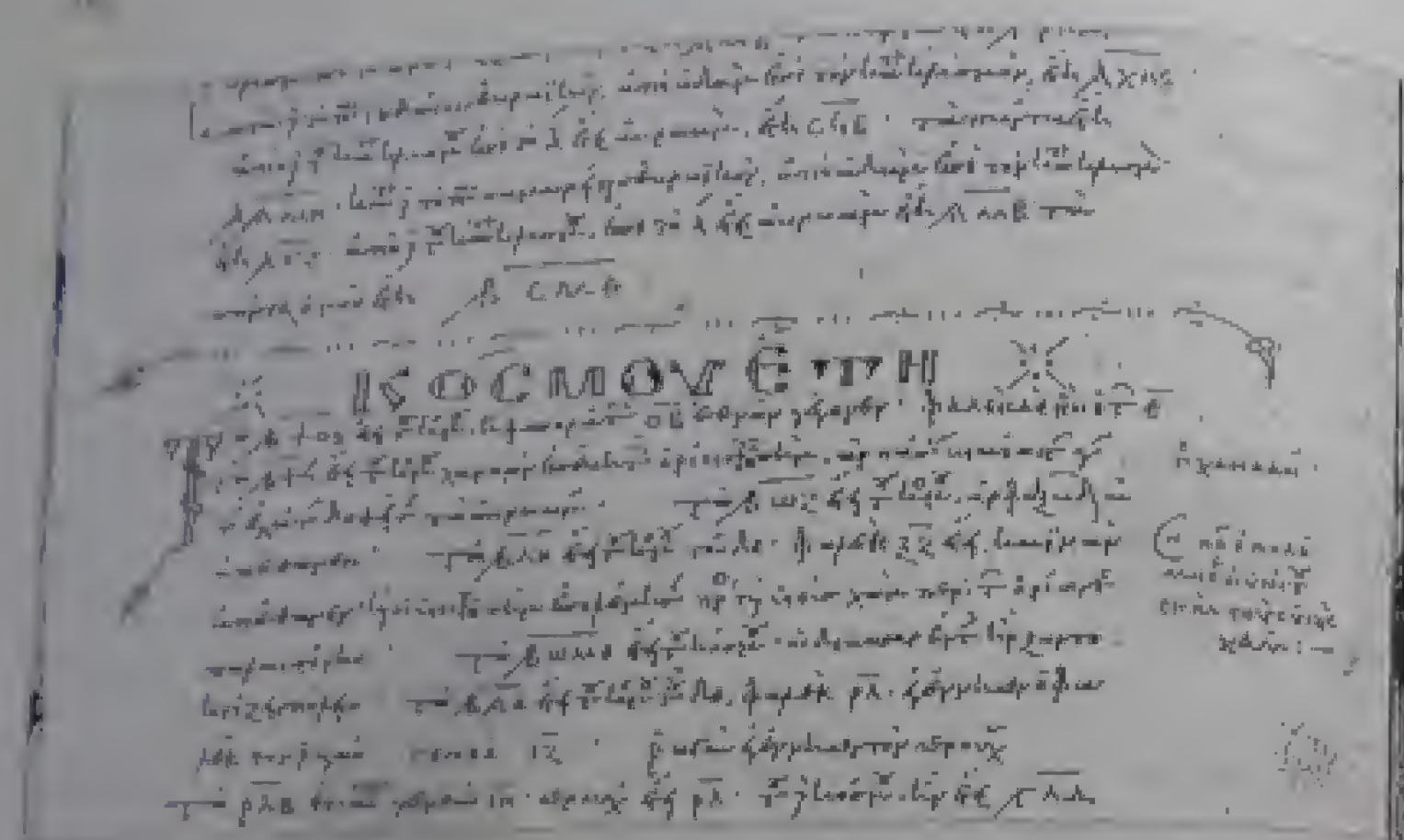


Fig. 4 – Detail *Parisinus Graecus* 1764, fol. 17' (middle).

Also double-leaf comparison to fol. 120' (fig. 3): a double-acanthus leaf division in the text, and a three-line three-dimensional decorated capital letter.

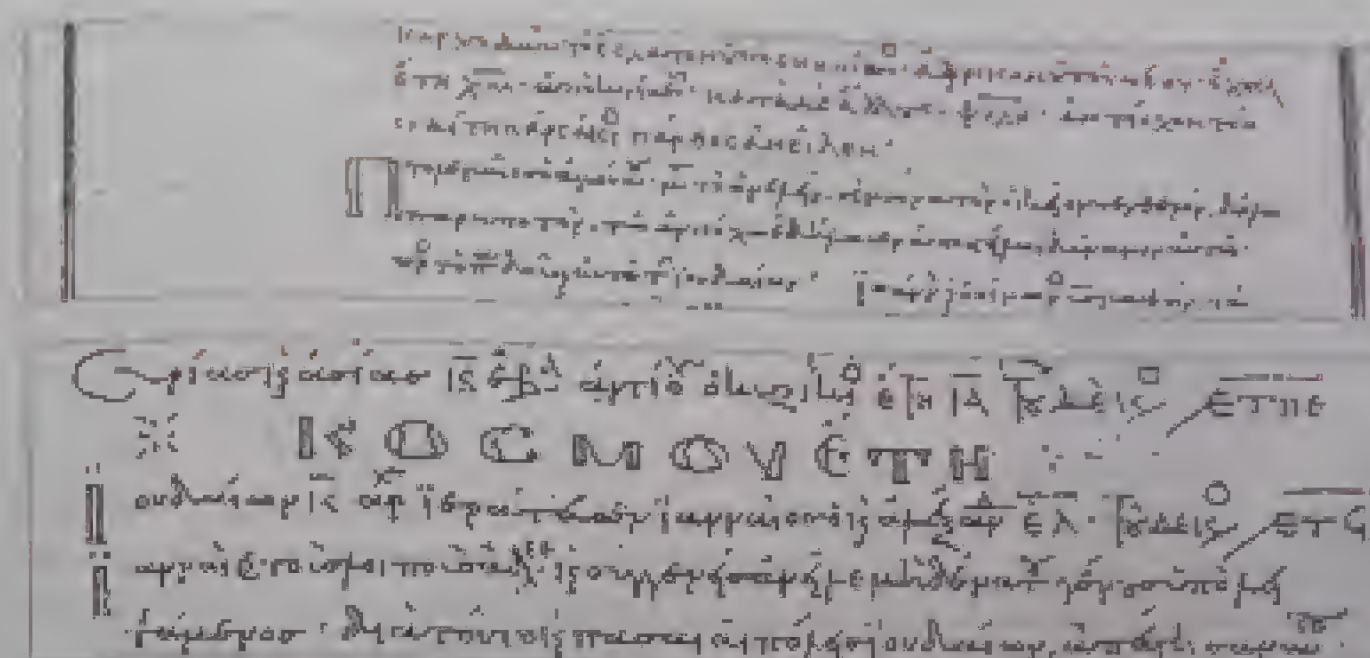


Fig. 5 – Some instances of the frequently-occurring undecorated two-dimensional initial capital letters in *Parisinus Graecus* 1764.

5a – Fol. 116' (top). Beginning of the narrative describing the events that would lead to the fall of Judea to the Romans.

Critical text: Georg. Sync., p. 353.3–9.

5b – Fol. 117' (bottom). End of the entry for AM 5385; beginning of the entry for AM 5396.

Critical text: Georg. Sync., p. 354.17–23.

1. Immediately following a summary of the argument, the capital letter marks a departure from the narrative into discussion of a specific chronological complexity:
 - i. after the post-flood division of the earth among the sons of Noah, how to reckon the post-flood period from AM 2572 to AM 2776 (fol. 1' at M 56.24)
 - ii. after the foregoing discussion, how to reckon the Egyptian dynasties for the same period (fol. 2' at M 59.6)
 - iii. after tallying the chronology through the fifteenth generation from Adam, an authoritative summary of Synkellos' chronology (fol. 13' at M 91.13)
 - iv. after the foregoing summary, a summary of the Septuagint's authoritative chronology of the same period (fol. 13' at M 92.6)
 - v. after the twenty-first generation of Hebrew patriarchs (Abraham's generation), various opinions on Abraham's relative chronology (fol. 21' at M 112.17)
 - vi. after the death of Joseph (son of Jacob-Israel), how to reckon the chronology of Moses (fol. 27' at M 129.31)
 - vii. after the accession of Joachaz and then Joakeim (kings of Judah) in AM 4883, how to date the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar and the subsequent seventy-year captivity of the Jews (fol. 75' at M 258.1)
2. The capital letter marks a chronological entry of major significance:
 - i. AM 2776, the "dispersion" of the nations after the Tower of Babel (fol. 17' at M 101.4)
 - ii. AM 3313, the birth of Abraham (fol. 20' at M 110.23–4)
 - iii. AM 3413, the birth of Isaac, the patriarch Abraham's only son (fol. 22' at M 116.19)

Fig. 4 and Fig. 5b. The decorated letters here—in the account of the period leading up to the Roman conquest of Judea—seem to function as an alert to the reader of headings and minor narrative division.²⁵ Though the organizational function of the letters seems key to their use, I have not identified any systematic pattern to these minor elaborations.

My research has, however, produced nineteen possible *comparanda* internal to *Parisinus* 1764 for the H on fol. 120'. I have cast the net as widely as seemed plausible, judging primarily on the basis of decoration (an attempt at three-dimensional plasticity), and secondarily on the basis of size (three lines in height, or nearly so).²⁶ Of the nineteen comparable decorated letters in the manuscript, fifteen occur in *Chronographia* I. The places in the text marked by these fifteen decorated letters fall into three neat categories:

25. M 101.4 (AT 425.46) and M 116.19 (AT 425.46).

26. It is difficult to make an exact distinction in practice between two-dimensional *litterae* and three-line, three-dimensional capitals designed to give the appearance of three-dimensionality. In addition, in reiterating the point made above—that this manuscript calls for interpretation—the reader must also be reminded that this is my own opinion in cases where the author's intent is unclear. Particularly relevant are the letters denoting resumptions of the chronology of the Septuagintal tradition of the seventy-year captivity. Par on fol. 76' (at M 259.23); Par on fol. 87' (at M 275.16). Additional *comparanda*—whether on the basis of graphic elements or on the basis of the chronological entry—include: H on fol. 27' (at M 129.29); Q on fol. 9' (at M 77.10); H on fol. 21' (at M 112.17); H on fol. 27' (at M 129.31); H on fol. 45' (at M 175.23); E on fol. 65' (at M 258.1); H on fol. 75' (at M 258.1); H on fol. 87' (at M 275.16); H on fol. 116' (at M 353.3–9); H on fol. 117' (at M 354.17–23); H on fol. 118' (at M 355.1–4); H on fol. 119' (at M 356.1–4); H on fol. 120' (at M 357.1–4); H on fol. 121' (at M 358.1–4); H on fol. 122' (at M 359.1–4); H on fol. 123' (at M 360.1–4); H on fol. 124' (at M 361.1–4); H on fol. 125' (at M 362.1–4); H on fol. 126' (at M 363.1–4); H on fol. 127' (at M 364.1–4); H on fol. 128' (at M 365.1–4); H on fol. 129' (at M 366.1–4); H on fol. 130' (at M 367.1–4); H on fol. 131' (at M 368.1–4); H on fol. 132' (at M 369.1–4); H on fol. 133' (at M 370.1–4); H on fol. 134' (at M 371.1–4); H on fol. 135' (at M 372.1–4); H on fol. 136' (at M 373.1–4); H on fol. 137' (at M 374.1–4); H on fol. 138' (at M 375.1–4); H on fol. 139' (at M 376.1–4); H on fol. 140' (at M 377.1–4); H on fol. 141' (at M 378.1–4); H on fol. 142' (at M 379.1–4); H on fol. 143' (at M 380.1–4); H on fol. 144' (at M 381.1–4); H on fol. 145' (at M 382.1–4); H on fol. 146' (at M 383.1–4); H on fol. 147' (at M 384.1–4); H on fol. 148' (at M 385.1–4); H on fol. 149' (at M 386.1–4); H on fol. 150' (at M 387.1–4); H on fol. 151' (at M 388.1–4); H on fol. 152' (at M 389.1–4); H on fol. 153' (at M 390.1–4); H on fol. 154' (at M 391.1–4); H on fol. 155' (at M 392.1–4); H on fol. 156' (at M 393.1–4); H on fol. 157' (at M 394.1–4); H on fol. 158' (at M 395.1–4); H on fol. 159' (at M 396.1–4); H on fol. 160' (at M 397.1–4); H on fol. 161' (at M 398.1–4); H on fol. 162' (at M 399.1–4); H on fol. 163' (at M 400.1–4); H on fol. 164' (at M 401.1–4); H on fol. 165' (at M 402.1–4); H on fol. 166' (at M 403.1–4); H on fol. 167' (at M 404.1–4); H on fol. 168' (at M 405.1–4); H on fol. 169' (at M 406.1–4); H on fol. 170' (at M 407.1–4); 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H on fol. 435' (at M 672.1–4); H on fol. 436' (at M 673.1–4); H on fol. 437' (at M 674.1–4); H on fol. 438' (at M 675.1–4); H on fol. 439' (at M 676.1–4); H on fol. 440' (at M 677.1–4); H on fol. 441' (at M 678.1–4); H on fol. 442' (at M 679.1–4); H on fol. 443' (at M 680.1–4); H on fol. 444' (at M 681.1–4); H on fol. 445' (at M 682.1–4); H on fol. 446' (at M 683.1–4); H on fol. 447' (at M 684.1–4); H on fol. 448' (at M 685.1–4); H on fol. 449' (at M 686.1–4); H on fol. 450' (at M 687.1–4); H on fol. 451' (at M 688.1–4); H on fol. 452' (at M 689.1–4); H on fol. 453' (at M 690.1–4); H on fol. 454' (at M 691.1–4); H on fol. 455' (at M 692.1–4); H on fol. 456' (at M 693.1–4); H on fol. 457' (at M 694.1–4); H on fol. 458' (at M 695.1–4); H on fol. 459' (at M 696.1–4); H on fol. 460' (at M 697.1–4); H on fol. 461' (at M 698.1–4); H on fol. 462' (at M 699.1–4); H on fol. 463' (at M 700.1–4); H on fol. 464' (at M 701.1–4); H on fol. 465' (at M 702.1–4); H on fol. 466' (at M 703.1–4); H on fol. 467' (at M 704.1–4); H on fol. 468' (at M 705.1–4); H on fol. 469' (at M 706.1–4); H on fol. 470' (at M 707.1–4); H on fol. 471' (at M 708.1–4); H on fol. 472' (at M 709.1–4); H on fol. 473' (at M 710.1–4); H on fol. 474' (at M 711.1–4); H on fol. 475' (at M 712.1–4); H on fol. 476' (at M 713.1–4); H on fol. 477' (at M 714.1–4); H on fol. 478' (at M 715.1–4); H on fol. 479' (at M 716.1–4); H on fol. 480' (at M 717.1–4); H on fol. 481' (at M 718.1–4); H on fol. 482' (at M 719.1–4); H on fol. 483' (at M 720.1–4); H on fol. 484' (at M 721.1–4); H on fol. 485' (at M 722.1–4); H on fol. 486' (at M 723.1–4); H on fol. 487' (at M 724.1–4); H on fol. 488' (at M 725.1–4); H on fol. 489' (at M 726.1–4); H on fol. 490' (at M 727.1–4); H on fol. 491' (at M 728.1–4); H on fol. 492' (at M 729.1–4); H on fol. 493' (at M 730.1–4); H on fol. 494' (at M 731.1–4); H on fol. 495' (at M 732.1–4); H on fol. 496' (at M 733.1–4); H on fol. 497' (at M 734.1–4); H on fol. 498' (at M 735.1–4); H on fol. 499' (at M 736.1–4); H on fol. 500' (at M 737.1–4); H on fol. 501' (at M 738.1–4); H on fol. 502' (at M 739.1–4); H on fol. 503' (at M 740.1–4); H on fol. 504' (at M 741.1–4); H on fol. 505' (at M 742.1–4); H on fol. 506' (at M 743.1–4); H on fol. 507' (at M 744.1–4); H on fol. 508' (at M 745.1–4); H on fol. 509' (at M 746.1–4); H on fol. 510' (at M 747.1–4); H on fol. 511' (at M 748.1–4); H on fol. 512' (at M 749.1–4); H on fol. 513' (at M 750.1–4); H on fol. 514' (at M 751.1–4); H on fol. 515' (at M 752.1–4); H on fol. 516' (at M 753.1–4); H on fol. 517' (at M 754.1–4); H on fol. 518' (at M 755.1–4); H on fol. 519' (at M 756.1–4); H on fol. 520' (at M 757.1–4); H on fol. 521' (at M 758.1–4); H on fol. 522' (at M 759.1–4); H on fol. 523' (at M 760.1–4); H on fol. 524' (at M 761.1–4); H on fol. 525' (at M 762.1–4); H on fol. 526' (at M 763.1–4); H on fol. 527' (at M 764.1–4); H on fol. 528' (at M 765.1–4); H on fol. 529' (at M 766.1–4); H on fol. 530' (at M 767.1–4); H on fol. 531' (at M 768.1–4); H on fol. 532' (at M 769.1–4); H on fol. 533' (at M 770.1–4); H on fol. 534' (at M 771.1–4); H on fol. 535' (at M 772.1–4); H on fol. 536' (at M 773.1–4); H on fol. 537' (at M 774.1–4); H on fol. 538' (at M 775.1–4); H on fol. 539' (at M 776.1–4); H on fol. 540' (at M 777.1–4); H on fol. 541' (at M 778.1–4); H on fol. 542' (at M 779.1–4); H on fol. 543' (at M 780.1–4); H on fol. 544' (at M 781.1–4); H on fol. 545' (at M 782.1–4); H on fol. 546' (at M 783.1–4); H on fol. 547' (at M 784.1–4); H on fol. 548' (at M 785.1–4); H on fol. 549' (at M 786.1–4); H on fol. 550' (at M 787.1–4); H on fol. 551' (at M 788.1–4); H on fol. 552' (at M 789.1–4); H on fol. 553' (at M 790.1–4); H on fol. 554' (at M 791.1–4); H on fol. 555' (at M 792.1–4); H on fol. 556' (at M 793.1–4); H on fol. 557' (at M 794.1–4); H on fol. 558' (at M 795.1–4); H on fol. 559' (at M 796.1–4); H on fol. 560' (at M 797.1–4); H on fol. 561' (at M 798.1–4); H on fol. 562' (at M 799.1–4); H on fol. 563' (at M 800.1–4); H on fol. 564' (at M 801.1–4); H on fol. 565' (at M 802.1–4); H on fol. 566' (at M 803.1–4); H on fol. 567' (at M 804.1–4); H on fol. 568' (at M 805.1–4); H on fol. 569' (at M 806.1–4); H on fol. 570' (at M 807.1–4); H on fol. 571' (at M 808.1–4); H on fol. 572' (at M 809.1–4); H on fol. 573' (at M 810.1–4); H on fol. 574' (at M 811.1–4); H on fol. 575' (at M 812.1–4); H on fol. 576' (at M 813.1–4); H on fol. 577' (at M 814.1–4); H on fol. 578' (at M 815.1–4); H on fol. 579' (at M 816.1–4); H on fol. 580' (at M 817.1–4); H on fol. 581' (at M 818.1–4); H on fol. 582' (at M 819.1–4); H on fol. 583' (at M 820.1–4); H on fol. 584' (at M 821.1–4); H on fol. 585' (at M 822.1–4); H on fol. 586' (at M 823.1–4); H on fol. 587' (at M 824.1–4); H on fol. 588' (at M 825.1–4); H on fol. 589' (at M 826.1–4); H on fol. 590' (at M 827.1–4); H on fol. 591' (at M 828.1–4); H on fol. 592' (at M 829.1–4); H on fol. 593' (at M 830.1–4); H on fol. 594' (at M 831.1–4); H on fol. 595' (at M 832.1–4); H on fol. 596' (at M 833.1–4); H on fol. 597' (at M 834.1–4); H on fol. 598' (at M 835.1–4); H on fol. 599' (at M 836.1–4); H on fol. 600' (at M 837.1–4); H on fol. 601' (at M 838.1–4); H on fol. 602' (at M 839.1–4); H on fol. 603' (at M 840.1–4); H on fol. 604' (at M 841.1–4

anachronisms between various rulers. This spot in the text is unquestionably one of the most significant transitions in the *Chronography*; the content fully merits the distinctive palaeography.

As we have seen, the capital Π in the margin of fol. 120^v is, by contrast, a palaeographic irregularity: the decorative elements are completely at odds with the patterns established for their use over the course of the manuscript. Furthermore, while the notations on fol. 17^v serve to divide two coherent sections of the text at a moment of major chronological significance, the historical moment marked by the capital Π and the pair of acanthus leaves on fol. 120^v—Pompey's return to Rome—is hardly the chronological equivalent of the beginning of recorded history.³⁷ In the context of *Paris, gr. 1764*, the content of fol. 120 does not in any way merit its distinctive palaeography. Finally, not only does the event seem unworthy, the prose hardly compels. As we have seen, the disjointed narrative of this moment on fol. 120^v is hardly coherent and acquires no apparent gain from decoratively dividing the text. This is the only example of such dissonance between palaeography and content in the entire manuscript.

The only justification for any notation at all between these sentences is that this is the meeting point between the portions of the text I have labelled *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. The distinction between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* is based entirely on the hypothesis that these portions of the text circulated in distinct manuscripts. Can we construct an explanation for the oddities of fol. 120^v on the basis of this circulation? The evidence all points to scribal intervention and modification of the text. Let us suppose that the scribe of *Paris, gr. 1764* did not work from an exemplar containing the complete *Chronography*. If, rather, our scribe was altering the *status quo* by copying *Chronographia1* from one manuscript and *Chronographia2* from another, he would have had to confront the challenge of altering a layout originally designed to re-introduce a text in an independent volume, so that it conformed to its new role as an intermediary paragraph. The scribe would have had to organize content through variation in scripts where such an organization did not previously exist. This would explain the fact that the graphic elements of *Chronographia2*—the text following fol. 120^v—do not fit neatly into the patterns established in the manuscript up to that point (as discussed above).

The evidence found in other manuscripts of the *Chronography* seems to support this view. The oldest complete copy of *Chronographia2* is the ninth-century manuscript *Wake Greek 5* held in Christ Church College Library, Oxford. In *Wake Greek 5*, the *Chronicon*

37. Not only the Incarnation of Christ would have merited such distinction, for in Synkellos' *Chronicon* the Incarnation is mentioned multiple times as the central epoch-making event of history, and the Incarnation's centrality and ubiquity is unavoidable throughout the *Chronicon*. Some sample distinctions from *Chronographia1* can be found at M 1.14–28 / AT 1–2 (M 1.14–20 / AT 1) and M 1.29–30 / AT 3–4 (M 1.29–30 / AT 3). Some sample distinctions from *Chronographia2* arise at M 376.26–378.18 / AT 376–378 (M 376.26–378.18 / AT 376–378) and M 378.19–382.4 / AT 379–382 (M 378.19–382.4 / AT 379–382). Alternatively, on Nebuchadnezzar's reign as a central epoch-making event, the birth year of Judaea because it is the first year of the kingdom, M 265.1–268.18 / AT 318–321 (M 265.1–268.18 / AT 318–321) and M 268.19–270.5 / AT 322–325 (M 268.19–270.5 / AT 322–325). Finally, Nebuchadnezzar is given prominence as the ruler of the world in the year of the fall of the Jews in Babylon and an extended period of the world, M 265.1–278.18 / AT 325–40 (M 265.1–278.18 / AT 325–40), resumed

Synomon of Patriarch Nikephoros I precedes *Chronographia2*, which then starts from the top of fol. 12^v (fig. 6). The text of *Chronographia2* begins with the short majuscule preface cited earlier:

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΟΣ
ΤΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΥΛΑ-
ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΨΟΖ' ΟΜΟΥ ΕΤΗ ΤΜΓ'

The treatise (that is, chronography), of George, the most devout monk and Synkellos of Tarasios the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, in the form of an epitome from Judaea Caesar's reign over the Romans, AD 543/4, up to the first year of the reign of Diocletian, AD 577, totaling 343 years.

The preface in majuscule script is a statement of the author's identity and a re-summary of Synkellos' calculation of the Years of the World. The text of *Chronographia2* immediately follows the preface accompanied by the same marginal note we already saw in *Paris, gr. 1764*: "Pompey was publicly proclaimed autokrator."

The dissonant reading experience created by fol. 120^v of *Paris, gr. 1764*—that is, reading straight through the end of *Chronographia1* into the beginning of *Chronographia2*—is obviated on fol. 12^v of *Wake Greek 5*. This portion of the text's

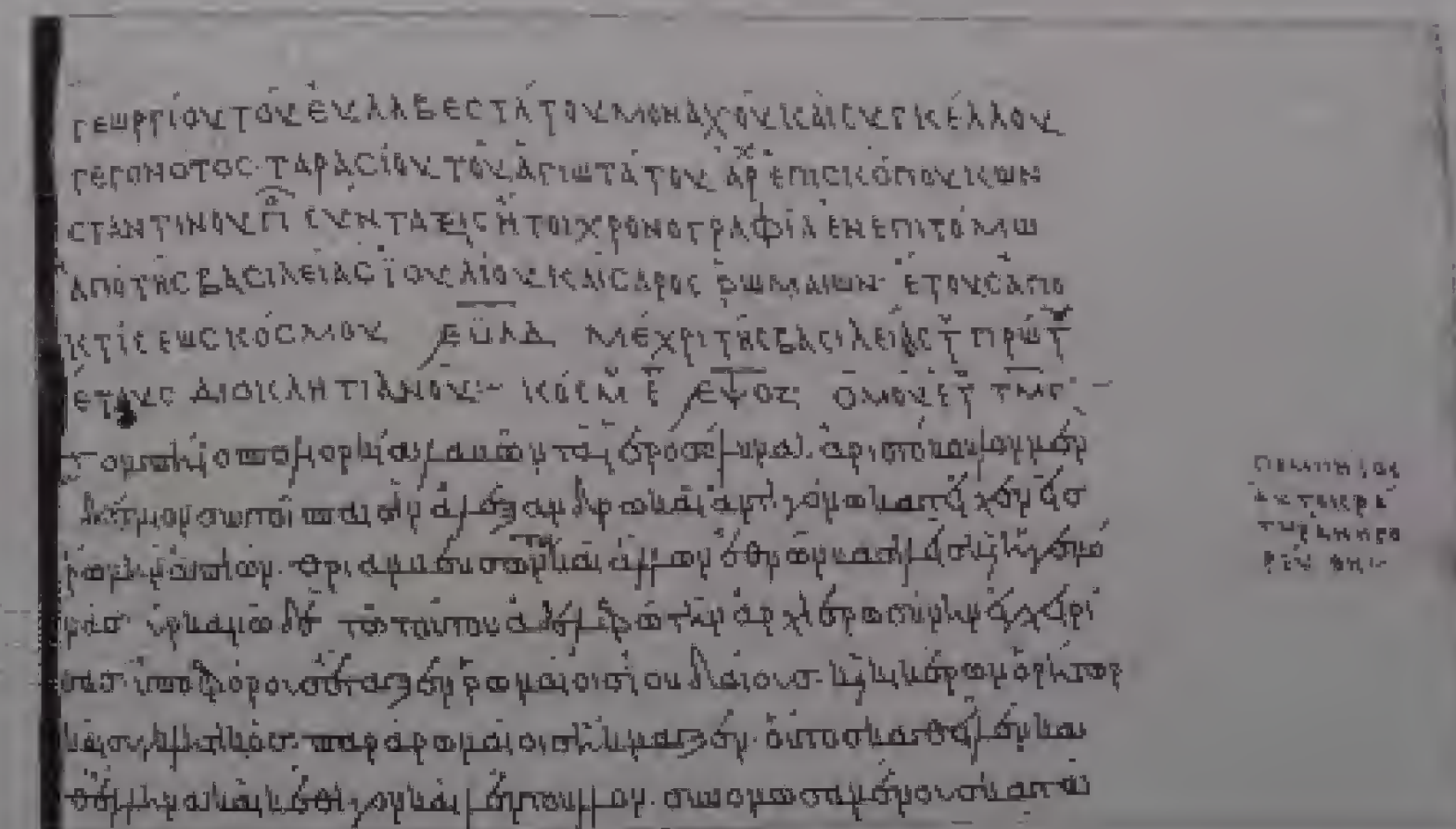


Fig. 6 – Detail: Oxford, Christ Church College Library, *Wake Greek 5*, fol. 12 (top). Beginning of *Chronographia2* (AD 543/4).

...the *Chronographia*—now above—now make perfect sense: if *Chronographia 2* was the last part of the *Chronographia* that the reader of this new codex had experienced, the *Chronographia 2*—now above—would bring clarity.¹⁰ Here, the narrative back-tracking and re-orientation and sentence re-summary would serve to re-orient the reader before leaving the story of Alexander's escape from Rome to Judea. Similarly, if we consider *Chronographia 2* as the end of a codex, Synkellos' comment that Alexander's rebellion "will be continued" would have given readers a narrative thread to carry forward until they found a codex with *Chronographia 2*.¹¹

Let us consider what might have been the scribe of *Paris, gr. 1764*'s decision-making process: after the first three lines of fol. 120—he or she finished copying *Chronographia1* from our manuscript, and then retrieved the text for *Chronographia2* from another and resumed copying. Assuming that *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* were divided between two codices, the manuscript our scribe was able to obtain may have been preserved by different palaeographic patterns—as is the case between *Chronographia1* in *Paris, gr. 1764* and *Chronographia2* in *Waltre Greek 5*. The scribe would have had to be able upon a palaeographic criterion to the new combination of texts.

First, the scribe could have noted that the preface to *Chronographia*2 (just discussed) had no place on a seamless combination of *Chronographia*1 and *Chronographia*2. Nevertheless, a scribe must have noticed that a division which had originally split the work into two sections should be reflected in the new combination. At this point, any number of possibilities could explain the result we see on fol. 120^v. I am most persuaded by the idea that the scribe simply applied the two most significant organizational decorations in his context: the double-arched division, and the three-dimensional, three-line capital form. Perhaps the scribe obtained from including a full-line gap in the text (as in his previous use of the double-arching on fol. 9^v, fol. 17^v, fol. 34^v, and fol. 88^v) because he recognized the fact that the narrative was actually continuous through the division.

in Hesiod's *Works and Days* and *Shield* are examples of the narrative techniques unique and unique, the use of which can be linked to Homer (see the excellent recent discussion in the volume by K. Nitzsch, *The ancient, the medieval, the modern: forms and concepts of literary criticism in Greek antiquity* (Cambridge 2009), pp. 34–5). These devices served both narrative and practical purposes: to give poems a unity and coherence to guide readers between papyrus rolls (see the most pertinent discussion with bibliography by W. A. J. van Son, 'The ancient book', in *The Oxford handbook of antiquity*, ed. by E. Borge, Oxford 2009, pp. 270–81, especially pp. 283–7). As antiquity was a transitional time and readers were able to use scrolls even though no longer needed for the same reasons (see, e.g., Kalliope, *Exercices dans le papyrus de la tertiae: l'autori materiale*, Paris 1994, 22–23, 25–26, 28–29, 30–31, 32–33, 34–35, 36–37, 38–39, 40–41, 42–43, 44–45, 46–47, 48–49, 50–51, 52–53, 54–55, 56–57, 58–59, 60–61, 62–63, 64–65, 66–67, 68–69, 70–71, 72–73, 74–75, 76–77, 78–79, 80–81, 82–83, 84–85, 86–87, 88–89, 90–91, 92–93, 94–95, 96–97, 98–99, 100–101, 102–103, 104–105, 106–107, 108–109, 110–111, 112–113, 114–115, 116–117, 118–119, 120–121, 122–123, 124–125, 126–127, 128–129, 130–131, 132–133, 134–135, 136–137, 138–139, 140–141, 142–143, 144–145, 146–147, 148–149, 150–151, 152–153, 154–155, 156–157, 158–159, 160–161, 162–163, 164–165, 166–167, 168–169, 170–171, 172–173, 174–175, 176–177, 178–179, 180–181, 182–183, 184–185, 186–187, 188–189, 190–191, 192–193, 194–195, 196–197, 198–199, 200–201, 202–203, 204–205, 206–207, 208–209, 210–211, 212–213, 214–215, 216–217, 218–219, 220–221, 222–223, 224–225, 226–227, 228–229, 230–231, 232–233, 234–235, 236–237, 238–239, 240–241, 242–243, 244–245, 246–247, 248–249, 250–251, 252–253, 254–255, 256–257, 258–259, 260–261, 262–263, 264–265, 266–267, 268–269, 270–271, 272–273, 274–275, 276–277, 278–279, 280–281, 282–283, 284–285, 286–287, 288–289, 290–291, 292–293, 294–295, 296–297, 298–299, 300–301, 302–303, 304–305, 306–307, 308–309, 310–311, 312–313, 314–315, 316–317, 318–319, 320–321, 322–323, 324–325, 326–327, 328–329, 330–331, 332–333, 334–335, 336–337, 338–339, 340–341, 342–343, 344–345, 346–347, 348–349, 350–351, 352–353, 354–355, 356–357, 358–359, 360–361, 362–363, 364–365, 366–367, 368–369, 370–371, 372–373, 374–375, 376–377, 378–379, 380–381, 382–383, 384–385, 386–387, 388–389, 390–391, 392–393, 394–395, 396–397, 398–399, 400–401, 402–403, 404–405, 406–407, 408–409, 410–411, 412–413, 414–415, 416–417, 418–419, 420–421, 422–423, 424–425, 426–427, 428–429, 430–431, 432–433, 434–435, 436–437, 438–439, 440–441, 442–443, 444–445, 446–447, 448–449, 450–451, 452–453, 454–455, 456–457, 458–459, 460–461, 462–463, 464–465, 466–467, 468–469, 470–471, 472–473, 474–475, 476–477, 478–479, 480–481, 482–483, 484–485, 486–487, 488–489, 490–491, 492–493, 494–495, 496–497, 498–499, 500–501, 502–503, 504–505, 506–507, 508–509, 510–511, 512–513, 514–515, 516–517, 518–519, 520–521, 522–523, 524–525, 526–527, 528–529, 530–531, 532–533, 534–535, 536–537, 538–539, 540–541, 542–543, 544–545, 546–547, 548–549, 550–551, 552–553, 554–555, 556–557, 558–559, 560–561, 562–563, 564–565, 566–567, 568–569, 570–571, 572–573, 574–575, 576–577, 578–579, 580–581, 582–583, 584–585, 586–587, 588–589, 590–591, 592–593, 594–595, 596–597, 598–599, 600–601, 602–603, 604–605, 606–607, 608–609, 610–611, 612–613, 614–615, 616–617, 618–619, 620–621, 622–623, 624–625, 626–627, 628–629, 630–631, 632–633, 634–635, 636–637, 638–639, 640–641, 642–643, 644–645, 646–647, 648–649, 650–651, 652–653, 654–655, 656–657, 658–659, 660–661, 662–663, 664–665, 666–667, 668–669, 670–671, 672–673, 674–675, 676–677, 678–679, 680–681, 682–683, 684–685, 686–687, 688–689, 690–691, 692–693, 694–695, 696–697, 698–699, 700–701, 702–703, 704–705, 706–707, 708–709, 710–711, 712–713, 714–715, 716–717, 718–719, 720–721, 722–723, 724–725, 726–727, 728–729, 730–731, 732–733, 734–735, 736–737, 738–739, 740–741, 742–743, 744–745, 746–747, 748–749, 750–751, 752–753, 754–755, 756–757, 758–759, 760–761, 762–763, 764–765, 766–767, 768–769, 770–771, 772–773, 774–775, 776–777, 778–779, 780–781, 782–783, 784–785, 786–787, 788–789, 790–791, 792–793, 794–795, 796–797, 798–799, 800–801, 802–803, 804–805, 806–807, 808–809, 810–811, 812–813, 814–815, 816–817, 818–819, 820–821, 822–823, 824–825, 826–827, 828–829, 830–831, 832–833, 834–835, 836–837, 838–839, 840–841, 842–843, 844–845, 846–847, 848–849, 850–851, 852–853, 854–855, 856–857, 858–859, 860–861, 862–863, 864–865, 866–867, 868–869, 870–871, 872–873, 874–875, 876–877, 878–879, 880–881, 882–883, 884–885, 886–887, 888–889, 890–891, 892–893,

Though the scribe would have removed the majuscule preface to *Chronographia*2, he was not bold enough to remove the dissonant narrative by rewriting the text itself. In sum, it was the scribe's conservative approach, his attempt to preserve as much of the original as possible, which produced the final result: a previously non-existent combination of texts in which the palaeographic patterns established for *Chronographia*1 do not match those in *Chronographia*2.

This proposal explains every one of the discrepancies we identified on fol. 120^v of *Paris. gr. 1764*: everything jarring about this page of the manuscript can be attributed to an original codicological break at am 5434 and a scribe's attempt to smooth over that break. If this conclusion is accepted, *Paris. gr. 1764*—seemingly the only manuscript to present Synkellos' *Chronography* as a single unified text—is in truth evidence that up to the time of its copying in the tenth century, the *Chronography* circulated in two parts, as *Chronographia*1 and *Chronographia*2.

As an aside, it seems relevant to note that *Paris, gr. 1711* (mentioned above), may also contain traces of a similar situation. On the one hand, *Paris, gr. 1711* does not preserve the distinctive palaeographic elements noted in *Paris, gr. 1764*. On the other hand, the scribe of *Paris, gr. 1711* comprehensively suppressed nearly every distinctive palaeographic element: even the year of the Incarnation lacks any distinction in script or decoration (fig. 7a). Though the manuscript does transmit one distinctive palaeographic element—a particular concern that the reader associate the notation concerning Pompey with the text of *Chronographia2* (fig. 7b, note 1)—the visual uniformity of *Paris, gr. 1711* does not permit us to contextualize the joining of *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* within the particular graphic patterns of the rest of the manuscript. More to the point, however, *Paris, gr. 1711* does preserve the same dissonant narrative elements in the narration of Pompey's transport of the Judaean prisoners to Rome described above. A number of scenarios seem possible. The scribe may have had a composite text as his exemplar (such as *Paris, gr. 1764*), or he may have simply combined *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* with greater success, barely leaving a visible seam (fig. 7b, note 2).

In conclusion, the initial impression produced by a superficial survey of the contents of *Paris, gr. 1764* and *Paris, gr. 1711* is misleading: these manuscripts are not copies of an originally whole *Chronography*. Based upon a close examination of the palaeography,

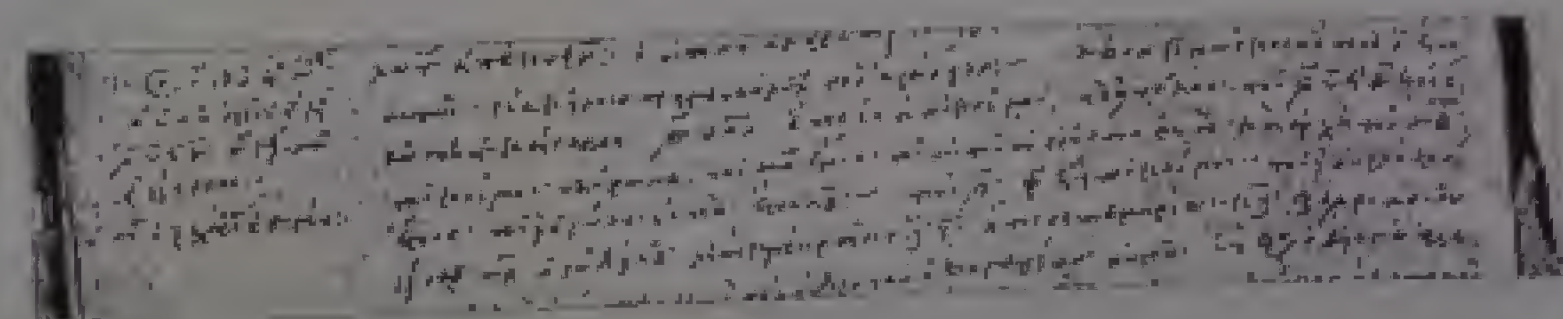


Fig. 7a – *Parasimus Gorton* 1743, the only surviving manuscript which contains both the complete *Chronography* of Sankellos and the *Chreastole* of Theophrastus (p. 138).

As a demonstration of the manuscript's minimalist approach to decoration, the

here the entire text's central event, the Incarnation of Christ, as it occurs midway through a nondescript line of monastic

The following table presents the medieval manuscripts of both the *Chronography* and *Chronicle*, grouped according to their contents as understood prior to our colloquium.

SET 1: <i>Chronographia</i> without <i>Chronicle</i> Present contents: <i>Chronographia</i> 1, <i>Chronographia</i> 2	
<i>Paris, gr. 1704</i> (B)	(s. 10)
SET 2: <i>Chronicle</i> without <i>Chronographia</i> Present contents: <i>Chronicle</i>	
<i>Paris, gr. 1710</i> (d)	(s. 9)
<i>Vat. gr. 978</i> (h)	(s. 11/12)
SET 3a: <i>Chronographia</i> 2 and <i>Chronicle</i> (Latin) Present contents: <i>Opuscula historica</i> (Nikephoros I), <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>	
<i>Vat. Palatinus Latinus</i> 826	(s. 9/10)
<i>Cambridge</i> 6	(c. 1058–86)
<i>Vat. Palatinus Latinus</i> 902	(c. 976–1025)
<i>Paris, Lat.</i> 1591	(s. 12)
<i>Paris, Lat.</i> 1592	(s. 12)
<i>Vienna, Lat.</i> 5501	(s. 12)
<i>British Library manuscript</i> 160	(s. 13)
<i>British Library Harley</i> 284	(s. 13)
SET 3b: <i>Chronographia</i> 2 and <i>Chronicle</i> (Greek) Subset 1 – Present contents: <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>	
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 155 (V/c)	(s. 9/10)
Subset 2 – Present contents: <i>Opuscula historica</i> (Nikephoros I), <i>Chronographia</i> 2, <i>Chronicle</i>	
<i>Oxford Christ Church College Library, Wake Greek</i> 5 (O/o)	(s. 9/10)
<i>Paris, Codex gr.</i> 133 (C/c)	(s. 12)
SET 3: <i>Chronographia</i> 2 and <i>Chronicle</i> with additional content (Greek) <i>Paris, gr.</i> 1711 (A/g)	
Additional contents: <i>Chronographia</i> 1, <i>Scriptus Incertus</i> , <i>Symeon Logothetes</i> , <i>Vita Alexandri</i>	
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 154 (T/h)	(s. 12)
Additional contents: <i>Georgios the Monk</i>	

Table 1 – Manuscripts of *Chronographia* and *Chronicle* grouped by current contents.

Notes applicable to all sets used by Mosshammer (caps) and de Boor (lower case)

set used for reference in the shellmark, referencing fig. 1 and fig. 2 above.

Let us work our way through these sets, applying some recent findings.

Sets 1 and 2 consist of the manuscripts that appear to contain only one text, and in the order: *Chronographia* (lengthy discussion of the one manuscript in Set 1—*Paris, gr.* 1704, containing Synkellos' *Chronography* alone—argued that this is in fact a conflation of two, a combination of two different manuscripts. We cannot know what relationship exists in the original codices from which the scribe extracted *Chronographia* 1 and *Chronographia* 2. Thus, while the manuscript cannot tell us about the relationship between the *Chronographia* and the *Chronicle*, it does indicate that the *Chronographia* originally consisted of two distinct parts.

In Set 2 there are two manuscripts with the *Chronicle* alone: *Paris, gr.* 1710 (of the second half of the ninth century), and *Vat. gr.* 978 (of the eleventh or twelfth). The text of the *Chronicle* found in *Paris, gr.* 1710 is unlike that found in the other manuscripts, for among other issues it lacks the distinctive yearly dating rubrics found in every other copy. Furthermore, the manuscript is not only a distinctive and independent witness of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, but it was dated by Boris Fonkič to the 830s or 840s, very close to the decade of composition. While it now appears that the late ninth century may be a more accurate date, this is still an earlier exemplar than any of the manuscripts that today contain Synkellos' *Chronography*.⁴⁵ *Paris, gr.* 1710 presents an apparent challenge to the idea that *Chronographia* 2 and the *Chronicle* originally circulated together.

However, as discussed in this same volume, Filippo Ronconi has now analyzed the stratigraphic evidence in the codex and produced an argument that conclusively proves *Paris, gr.* 1710 has been altered from its original state. The manuscript must have originally contained at least one other text which was set before the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and which was at the very least no less than seven folios in length and quite possibly filled several quires.⁴⁶ Based upon the demonstrable tradition of placing *Chronographia* 2 immediately before the *Chronicle*, it seems ill-advised to propose any other text in this position. Even if one would prefer not to grant the proposal of the *Chronographia*'s original presence in the manuscript, it is certainly the case that *Paris, gr.* 1710 can no longer be used as evidence against the idea that the *Chronographia* and *Chronicle* originally circulated together.

The second manuscript in Set 2 is *Vat. gr.* 978 which also contains Theophanes' *Chronicle* only. *Vat. gr.* 978 has—perhaps understandably—received relatively little attention.⁴⁷ The medieval portion of the manuscript is fragmentary, beginning *in medias res* at p. 62.29 in de Boor's edition of the *Chronicle*. This was apparently the state of the manuscript in the sixteenth-century, for the missing folios from the beginning of the *Chronicle* have been reconstituted from another manuscript by the humanist hand of Giovanni Santamaura.⁴⁸ Carl de Boor himself noted that the manuscript had been modified and even postulated that it originally contained the *Chronographia* of Synkellos, but without providing a thorough explanation for this hypothesis.⁴⁹ To my knowledge the idea has not been either proven or disproven up to this time. I believe we can, in fact, confirm de Boor's hypothesis based, once again, on the manuscript's codicology.

The first folio that survives from the original twelfth-century manuscript is numbered "39." This and the other folio numbers are not original marks, but were probably provided by Giovanni Santamaura or another reader during the early modern period. On the other hand, the original binding notations, the quire marks, do survive. Beginning on the folio numbered forty-six, and continuing with perfect regularity through the rest of the manuscript, a quire mark can be seen in the bottom left inner corner of every eighth folio. The forty-sixth folio is the beginning of the quire α' (fifteen). By subtracting eight folios from forty-six we can determine that folio thirty-eight would have originally been

45. See: F. Ronconi in this same volume, pp. 137–8.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 138–46.

47. Here, again, I am taking a cue from Mosshammer. See: Georg. Sync., pp. xviii–xix.

48. M. D'Agostino, *La manu di Giovanni Santamaura, Scripta* 3, 2011, p. 12.

49. Theoph. 2, p. 384 and Georg. Sync., pp. xviii–xix.

Chronicle which preserves evidence of scribes who intentionally intervened in the textual tradition of the *Chronicle* and the *Chronography* in order to create a complete history of the world. Vat. gr. 154 is a similar case. To create this manuscript the scribe used a universal chronicle from the late ninth century, George the Monk (or George Hamartolos), to fill out the pre-Incarnation history of the world. The beginning of George the Monk's *Chronography* is then followed by *Chronographia*² which is, in turn, succeeded by the *Chronicle*. Although the *Chronicle* is cut short at the reign of Justinian). Thus, where the scribe of Paris. gr. 1711 used Synkellos' *Chronographia*¹ to supply an account of pre-Incarnation history, the scribe of Vat. gr. 154 used the relevant portion of George the Monk's text. It could well be that this decision was made because *Chronographia*¹ was unavailable. If this was the case, Vat. gr. 154 could be construed as additional evidence that *Chronographia*¹ and *Chronographia*² circulated independently. Regardless, both of these manuscripts indicate evidence of modification to the original codicology of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*. Though it is certain that these manuscripts' combination of multiple chronicles and chronographies fulfilled Synkellos' original vision—a universal chronographic from the Creation of the World to the present day—this is not evidence that Synkellos' text originally circulated in this material form. Due to these ambiguities it seems most appropriate to remove these manuscripts from the present discussion.

IV. CONCLUSIONS TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN *CHRONOGRAPHIA* AND *CHRONICLE*

If we have rearranged the manuscript sets in Table 1 according to the claims presented in the preceding survey, we arrive at the following table (Table 2).

Considered in these sets, the manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle* present a dominant—if just short of universal—tradition of copying *Chronographia*² and the *Chronicle* together.

Let us attempt to generate some conclusions from this new evidence. First, having studied the testimony of Paris. gr. 1764, we can now state that the medieval manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* indicate that by the end of the ninth century the joining of *Chronographia*² with the *Chronicle* had become so normative that it came to exclude any other presentation of the text from the evidence that has survived today. Our preceding analysis of the manuscript sets indicates that—especially if, for the reasons already noted, we exclude the conflicting testimonies of Paris. gr. 1711 and Vat. gr. 154—this decision may have been original to the very first exemplar manuscripts. That is: pushing the point just a bit further than Moshammer, I propose that the division of the text into the portions which I have labelled *Chronographia*¹ and *Chronographia*² originated with Synkellos. The idea is supported by Synkellos' own statements, and by the fact that we have no evidence that *Chronographia*¹ and *Chronographia*² were ever joined before the tenth century. Speculations aside, while one could still hold that the *Chronicle* may have circulated without the *Chronography*, we can state conclusively that there is no evidence of *Chronographia*² ever circulating apart from the *Chronicle*. Whether these texts are connected by design or serendipity, their surviving manuscripts have a shared parentage.

The problem of authorship that continues to confront us as scholars was not an obstacle to the impact of the *Chronicle* and its accompanying texts upon the ninth-century Byzantine world nor read or listened to them. It seems that if we desire to

approximate the *Chronicle*'s original context, purpose, and impact, we cannot read the *Chronography* of Synkellos and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes as distinct and independent chronicles but should approach them as a single universal chronicle. Based on the preceding discussion this would mean that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was not read as a history that began with Diocletian in am 5777 (AD 284) but as an account of the past that began with (in Synkellos' words) "the beginning of the reign of a non-Jew over Judea" in am 5434 (63 BC).

Having generated decades of scholarship in response to Cyril Mango's famous question "Who wrote the *Chronicle* of Theophanes?" perhaps the next question we might ask is: "How was it read?" To that end I would like to propose a premise: the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor was read within the very same codices as the *Chronography* of George Synkellos.

Shelfmark	Notable variations in content	Date	Sigla
SET 1: Codicological arrangements that are most likely later medieval modifications			
Paris. gr. 1764	(<i>Chronographia</i> ¹ and <i>Chronographia</i> ²)	(s. 10)	B
Paris. gr. 1711	(<i>Chronographia</i> ¹ , <i>Chronographia</i> ² , <i>Chronicle</i> , scriptor incertus, Symeon Logothetes, <i>Vita Alexandri</i>)	(s. 11)	A/g
Vat. gr. 154	(George the Monk, <i>Chronographia</i> ² , <i>Chronicle</i>)	(s. 12)	T/b
SET 2: <i>Chronicle</i> without <i>Chronographia</i> (none)			
SET 3: <i>Chronographia</i> ² and <i>Chronicle</i> (Greek and Latin)			
Paris. gr. 1710*		(s. 9)	d
Vat. Palatinum Latinus 826		(s. 9/10)	
Vat. gr. 155		(s. 9/10)	V/c
Oxford Christ Church College Library Wake Greek 5		(s. 9/10)	Q/a
Vat. Palatinum Latinus 909		(c. 976–1025)	
Carolinensis (Lat. 16)		(c. 1058–86)	
Vat. gr. 978*		(s. 11/12)	h
Paris. Coislin gr. 133		(s. 12)	C/i
Paris. Lat. 1591		(s. 12)	
Paris. Lat. 1592		(s. 12)	
Paris. Lat. 5501		(s. 12)	
Bibliothèque municipale d'Amnches (Lat. 160)		(s. 13)	
British Library Burney (Lat. 1281)		(s. 13)	

* Now contains only *Chronicle*, but originally contained an additional text, most likely *Chronographia*².

Table 2 – Manuscripts of *Chronographia* and *Chronicle* grouped by original contents

TRANSMISSION,
TRANSCRIPTION,
TRANSLATION

LA PREMIÈRE CIRCULATION DE LA « CHRONIQUE DE THÉOPHANE » : NOTES PALÉOGRAPHIQUES ET CODICOLOGIQUES

par Filippo Roncacci

Le *Vat. gr. 135*, l'*Oxon. Christ Church Wake 5* et le *Paris. gr. 1710* sont les trois manuscrits les plus anciens de la *Chronique* dite de Théophane. Dépourvus de toute souscription, ils peuvent être attribués dans leur ensemble, sur la base de considérations d'ordre paléographique et historico-textuel, à une période comprise entre la seconde moitié du 12^e s. et les premières années du 13^e s. Dans cette étude nous proposons une analyse de ces trois manuscrits, visant à éclairer quelques aspects concernant l'origine et la première circulation de la *Chronique*. Cet article comporte trois parties : l'état de la question ; une analyse comparée du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake*, concernant en particulier l'époque, la région et le milieu où ils semblent avoir été réalisés, et enfin un examen paléographique et stratigraphique du *Paris. gr. 1710*¹. Au sujet de ce dernier manuscrit, nous poursuivons deux objectifs : d'un côté, remettre en question son attribution au milieu stoudite ; de l'autre, dévoiler un remaniement qui, ayant eu lieu quelques années à peine après sa transcription, en a modifié la partie initiale, c'est-à-dire celle qui contient l'indication de la paternité théophanienne de la *Chronique*. Il s'agit d'une circonstance intéressante, surtout si l'on considère que le *Parisinus* contient une version de l'ouvrage très différente de celle qu'on lit dans le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake*, et apparemment proche de celle utilisée par Anastase le Bibliothécaire pour sa traduction².

* Cette étude doit beaucoup à mes discussions avec Guglielmo Cavallo, Juan Signes Codoner, Oronzo Pecere et Jesse W. Ferguson.

1. Sur la méthode « stratigraphique » cf. *infra* et la note 28.

2. Cette proximité n'avait pas échappé à De Boor : *Theoph.*, p. 364 et suiv. Cf. aussi P. Speck, *Der « zweite » Theophanes : eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes*, dans *Varta* 5 (Πολύζα [Βαζανικά] 13), Bonn 1994, p. 431-483, ici p. 471 et suiv., P. Vassilopoulos, La question théophanienne, dans *Theoria Theophani Confessoris. Chronographia*, cur. B. Coulié, P. Yannopoulos, Turnhout 1998, p. xxvii-lviii, ici p. xxviii et, plus généralement, l'article de B. Neri, dans les actes de ce même colloque.

1. ETAT DE LA QUESTION

Les études consacrées à la tradition manuscrite de la *Chronique* ont engendré deux reconstructions divergentes. En 1997, dans leur traduction commentée de l'ouvrage, Cyril Mango et Roger Scott – se fondant sur les analyses paléographiques d'Enrica Eubelen, Nigel Wilson et Lidia Perria – ont considéré le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake* comme deux livres jumeaux, copiés environ en même temps vers la fin du ix^e s., dans le même milieu et peut-être par un même copiste¹ : ces circonstances impliqueraient, selon les deux chercheurs, « something like mass production », laissant supposer pour la *Chronique* une « wide diffusion from the start »². Quant au *Parisinus*, Mango et Scott ont suivi l'avis de Carl de Boor, qui le considérait « viel mehr eine excerpierte Bearbeitung, als eine direkte Abschrift der Chronik »³. D'autre part, si les deux chercheurs le considéraient comme le plus ancien manuscrit de la *Chronique*, De Boor n'avait attribué le *Parisinus* qu'au x^e s. et il n'en avait tenu compte que marginalement dans son édition, car, à son avis, ce manuscrit constituait la *Vorlage* personnelle d'un copiste inconnu⁴. Mais déjà en 1996, dans un article en langue russe, Boris L. Fonkitch avait attribué le manuscrit aux années 830, croyant « reconnaître l'un des plus anciens produits en minuscule du milieu stoudite »⁵. La reconstruction de Fonkitch a été, d'un côté, critiquée en ce qui concerne sa datation⁶, et de l'autre, universellement acceptée quant à l'origine stoudite. En partant de ce point de vue, Panayotis Yannopoulos a proposé une théorie complexe au sujet de la première circulation de la *Chronique*. Selon lui, le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake* seraient deux copies indépendantes, réalisées à des moments différents, d'un « dossier théophanien » formé de l'ensemble des matériaux constituant la première rédaction de

la *Chronique*. Lorsque sévissait la politique iconoclaste de Léon V, Théophane mourut en exil à Samothrace et

ses biens [...], y compris le gros dossier de la *Chronique*, passèrent au monastère de Studios. Les Studiosites gardèrent précieusement le dossier. Mais, tant que les iconoclastes restèrent au pouvoir, ils n'osèrent pas l'éditer [...]. Ils ne crurent pour autant de l'étudier. Quelqu'un ajouta même un feuillet avec une scolie au sujet du Concile Quinisexce. Ils permirent encore à Anastase le Bibliothécaire [...] de tirer une copie pour traduire la *Chronique* en latin, mais à condition de ne pas divulguer le texte grec. Après la mort du dernier empereur iconoclaste, Théophile, [...] les Studiosites décidèrent de faire connaître la *Chronique* de Théophane. Ils sortirent le dossier, ils l'actualisèrent et ils chargèrent un copiste de faire une copie manuscrite dans la nouvelle forme d'écriture [scil. le Paris, gr. 1710]. Mais la copie ne satisfait pas tout le monde. D'autres copies furent faites à partir du dossier. Une de celles-ci, sans doute la plus satisfaisante [scil. le Wake 5], fut considérée comme le texte officiel⁷.

En somme, après une « première copie [...], le Paris, gr. 1710 »⁸, le *Wake* aurait vu le jour, probablement en tant que « copie agréée de la *Chronique* et de ce fait l'original de l'édition et l'archétype de la famille A »⁹. Quant au *Vaticanus*, « il s'agit peut-être d'une autre copie faite directement à partir du dossier et qui, comme le *Parisinus* gr. 1710, n'a pas laissé de copies »¹⁰. Toujours selon Yannopoulos, il serait possible de dater précisément quelques-uns de ces manuscrits : le *Parisinus* aurait été réalisé en 843, tout de suite après la réaffirmation de l'iconodoulie. Le *Wake* remonterait à la moitié ou à la fin du ix^e s. et le *Vaticanus* à la fin du ix^e ou au début du x^e s. Tous ces livres auraient été réalisés à Studios¹¹.

II. LE VATICANUS ET LE WAKE : DEUX LIVRES JUMEAUX ?

Le rapport entre le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake*, reconnus comme deux livres jumeaux en raison notamment de la ressemblance de leurs écritures et de leur contenu¹², n'a pas été l'objet d'une analyse philologique approfondie. En effet, le *Wake* n'a été soumis qu'à une

l'existence d'un dossier arrangé par Georges le Syncelle, cf. P. Sreck, *Das gesamte Dossier – Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Poikila Byzantina 9), Bonn 1988, p. 514-519 et passim.

10. YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 552. Cf. aussi ib., *Theophane de Sigrani* (cité n. 6), p. 284 et suiv.

11. YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 545.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. YANNOPOULOS, *ibid.*, p. 548-549, propose de dater le *Wake* au milieu du ix^e s., mais il est plus prudent aux p. 545 et 547 et dans ib., *Theophane de Sigrani* (cité n. 6), p. 283, où il opte pour la fin du même siècle, reaffirmant l'origine stoudite des trois manuscrits (p. 289, 291, 293).

15. Le *Wake* contient la *Chronographia brevis* attribuée au patriarche Nicéphore (mais sur cette attribution et sur les doutes qu'elle soulève, cf. l'article de J. Stenstam dans ce même volume, la seconde partie de la *Chronographie* de Georges le Syncelle (pour sa division originale en deux sections la césure coïncidant avec act. 5434), cf., dans ce même volume, la contribution de J. W. TROMBESON) (la césure coïncidant avec act. 5434), cf., dans ce même volume, la contribution de J. W. TROMBESON et la *Chronique* attribuée à Théophane. La partie initiale du *Vaticanus* est affectée par une mutilation qui, selon la reconstruction courante, aurait fait disparaître complètement le texte attribué à Nicéphore (tout le tout début de celui du Syncelle). Mais la présence de la *Chronographia brevis* dans le manuscrit original demeure tout à fait hypothétique : cf. la contribution de J. W. TROMBESON.

1. A. N. G. WOODS, A manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford, *DOP* 26, 1972, p. 357-360, ici p. 358; cf. *Manuscript Geography*, Cambridge 1972, pl. 17. Plus prudemment E. FOLLIERI, La minuscola greca del secolo IX e X, dans *La paleografia greca e bizantina*, Paris 1977, p. 139-165 (réimpr. dans *Le Filigrane. Scrittura e cultura*, studi di filologia e di paleografia, a cura di A. Accorcia Longo et al., Roma 1987, p. 205-240, ici p. 144, pl. 36; L. PERRIA, Le cronache bizantine nella tradizione manoscritta, dans *Bizantina mediterranea*, atti del V Congresso nazionale di studi bizantini (Milano, 19-22 ottobre 1985), a cura di F. Cracco, Savona Mannelli 1996, p. 351-359, ici p. 354 et suiv.; Ead., La minuscola greca bizantina, dans *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio : atti del Simposio di Enna (16-21 novembre 1988)*, a cura di G. Cavallo et al., Spoleto 1992, p. 271-318, ici p. 288-294, 296, 301, 313.

2. Mango – Scott, p. 407-408.

3. Mango – Scott, p. 408.

4. De Boor, p. 360 et suiv. Sur les considérations avancées par П. Г. ПРЕОБРАЖЕНСКИЙ, *Известия Академии наук СССР. Филология*, Bonn 1912, sur le *Parisinus*, concernant, entre autres le premier, le fait de la traduction d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire, cf. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 408-412. Sur l'analyse philologique de De Boor cf. P. YANNOPOULOS, *Theophane de Sigrani* (cité n. 6), p. 284-285, 289-290, 293-294, 296-297, 299-300, 302-303, 305-306, 308-309, 311-312, 314-315, 317-318, 320-321, 323-324, 326-327, 329-330, 332-333, 335-336, 338-339, 341-342, 344-345, 347-348, 350-351, 353-354, 356-357, 359-360, 362-363, 365-366, 368-369, 371-372, 374-375, 377-378, 380-381, 383-384, 386-387, 389-390, 392-393, 395-396, 398-399, 401-402, 404-405, 407-408, 410-411, 413-414, 416-417, 419-420, 422-423, 425-426, 428-429, 431-432, 434-435, 437-438, 440-441, 443-444, 446-447, 449-450, 452-453, 455-456, 458-459, 461-462, 464-465, 467-468, 470-471, 473-474, 476-477, 479-480, 482-483, 485-486, 488-489, 491-492, 494-495, 497-498, 500-501, 503-504, 506-507, 509-510, 512-513, 515-516, 518-519, 521-522, 524-525, 527-528, 530-531, 533-534, 536-537, 539-540, 542-543, 545-546, 548-549, 551-552, 554-555, 557-558, 560-561, 563-564, 566-567, 569-570, 572-573, 575-576, 578-579, 581-582, 584-585, 587-588, 590-591, 593-594, 596-597, 599-600, 602-603, 605-606, 608-609, 611-612, 614-615, 617-618, 620-621, 623-624, 626-627, 629-630, 632-633, 635-636, 638-639, 641-642, 644-645, 647-648, 650-651, 653-654, 656-657, 659-660, 662-663, 665-666, 668-669, 671-672, 674-675, 677-678, 680-681, 683-684, 686-687, 689-690, 692-693, 695-696, 698-699, 701-702, 704-705, 707-708, 710-711, 713-714, 716-717, 719-720, 722-723, 725-726, 728-729, 731-732, 734-735, 737-738, 740-741, 743-744, 746-747, 749-750, 752-753, 755-756, 758-759, 761-762, 764-765, 767-768, 770-771, 773-774, 776-777, 779-780, 782-783, 785-786, 788-789, 791-792, 794-795, 797-798, 800-801, 803-804, 806-807, 809-810, 812-813, 815-816, 818-819, 821-822, 824-825, 827-828, 830-831, 833-834, 836-837, 839-840, 842-843, 845-846, 848-849, 851-852, 854-855, 857-858, 860-861, 863-864, 866-867, 869-870, 872-873, 875-876, 878-879, 881-882, 884-885, 887-888, 890-891, 893-894, 896-897, 899-900, 902-903, 905-906, 908-909, 911-912, 914-915, 917-918, 920-921, 923-924, 926-927, 929-930, 932-933, 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2849-2850, 2852-2853, 2855-2856, 2858-2859, 2861-2862, 2864-2865, 2867-2868, 2870-2871, 2873-2874, 2876-2877, 2879-2880, 2882-2883, 2885-2886, 2888-2889, 2891-2892, 2894-2895, 2

[illegible]

4

$$|z_{\alpha} - z_{\beta}| = |z_{\alpha}| - |z_{\beta}|$$

10/10/01

[illegible]

Fig. 1 - Oxon. Water 5, fol. 68r.

[illegible]Fig. 2. *Act. per 155, ind. 71*.

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Le second type d'écriture est distinct. Distinction, d'autre part, qui semble supposer une commande d'écriture, quant à la qualité de leur teneur.

Enfin, l'irrégularité structurale s'accompagne, dans le *Vaticanus*, d'un bon nombre d'irrégularités du parchemin. Cela, compte tenu des caractéristiques graphiques du premier type de la volonté de correspondre à une commande de haut niveau et de haute qualité. Le *Wake* semble en revanche avoir voulu constituer un produit d'écriture unique, tant à la fois de la qualité du parchemin et de la présence trophéique de l'écriture, mais aussi d'une circonstance supplémentaire : les titres de tous les ouvrages (de Néphrose, de Georges le Synelle et de la *Chronique*) y sont inscrits de façon soignée, dans le projet initial, à héberger des décorations qui n'ont pas été réalisées.

Une autre analyse peut mener encore, grâce à l'étude stratigraphique comparée des deux manuscrits (consistant dans l'observation conjointe de leurs caractéristiques matérielles (structure des cahiers et nature de leur succession), paléographiques (phases de la transcription par rapport à la structure des livres) et textuelles (rapport entre l'écriture des textes et de leur sous-parties, et les césures matérielles et graphiques).

La juxtaposition des aspects matériels du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake* permet de noter que le passage de l'ouvrage de Georges le Synelle à la *Chronique* coïncide, dans le premier manuscrit, avec un changement de cahier (dans le *Wake*, le passage d'un texte à l'autre s'est fait à l'intérieur d'un cahier). Le manuscrit est donc composé de deux blocs, comme nous l'avons vu.

Bloc A	Bloc B
Chronique fol. 1-100	Chronique fol. 101-fin

Un nombre remarquable de cas, concernant des livres d'époques différentes et d'auteurs différents, semble démontrer que les manuscrits formés de plusieurs blocs ne dépendent pas d'un seul type de modèle unitaire³⁰ : pour des raisons d'ordre pratique, les copistes ont pu offrir la proposition de reproduire les modèles unitaires dans des livres à une seule unité. D'autre part, la coïncidence entre la fin d'une unité textuelle et la fin d'un cahier a pu de nouveau être le fruit du hasard. Généralement, elle constitue plutôt le résultat de stratégies complexes comportant toujours un gaspillage de temps

et parfois de parchemin³¹. De telles jointures coïncident souvent avec des structures fasciculaires irrégulières³², en ce sens que le dernier cahier d'un bloc n'est normalement pas conforme au format standard du quaternion : en d'autres mots, pour faire coïncider la fin de l'ouvrage avec la fin du dernier cahier du bloc qui le contient, le copiste adaptait généralement la structure fasciculaire à l'étendue du texte qu'il était en train d'achever³³. Mais dans le *Vaticanus*, le dernier cahier du premier bloc (qui, numéroté n° 1, est le huitième du *codex* et contient les fol. 56-63) est un quaternion régulier. Cela implique la possibilité, mais pas la probabilité, que cette coïncidence soit le fruit du hasard et qu'elle ne renvoie pas à un changement de modèle, compte tenu du fait que, dans le *Wake*, le passage d'un texte à l'autre ne coïncide pas avec une césure codicologique, les deux textes se succédant à l'intérieur du cahier des fol. 57-62, un quaternion original ayant perdu un bifeuillet. La question semble donc destinée à rester ouverte : le copiste du *Vaticanus* et celui du *Wake* ont-ils employé un seul modèle (contenant tous les ouvrages qui s'y trouvent), ou ont-ils plutôt rassemblé des textes qu'ils trouvaient dans des supports indépendants ? Nous y reviendrons dans les *Conclusions*.

L'analyse de ces deux manuscrits a, à notre avis, deux conséquences majeures. En premier lieu elle rend très improbable l'idée qu'un demi-siècle se soit écoulé entre la transcription de l'un et celle de l'autre³⁴. Deuxièmement, elle invite à s'interroger sur la possibilité effective que la *Chronique* ait été l'objet d'une sorte de « mass production », ou du moins d'une « wide diffusion » pendant la première période de son existence³⁵. Nous avons remarqué que, nonobstant leurs ressemblances, ces deux manuscrits diffèrent sous plusieurs aspects en ce qui concerne leur qualité et leurs caractéristiques extérieures. Cela ne semble pas compatible avec une production sérielle, et fait plutôt penser à des opérations particulières, réalisées dans un milieu de copie professionnel, capable d'effectuer des transcriptions multiples, probablement sur la base de commandes spécifiques. Enfin, les caractéristiques du travail des deux copistes semblent évoquer une stratégie de dissémination élitiste.

Venons donc au dernier aspect de notre étude concernant ces deux livres.

3. Époque et lieu de réalisation

Si les analyses paléographiques ne sont pas parvenues, à l'heure actuelle, à établir avec certitude le lieu et la date de réalisation de ces deux livres, il est désormais sûr – notamment grâce aux recherches de Penia et d'Irmgard Hutter³⁶ – que, contrairement

30. Sur les implications théoriques de ces facteurs cf. Riesebeck, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei* (cité n. 28), p. 25 et suiv.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 25-27.

32. Cf. *ibid.* et *passim*.

33. Cf. n. 14.

34. Manca – Scott, p. xviii.

35. Penia, La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » (cité n. 3), p. 313; I. Hutter, La décoration et la mise en page des manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale : quelques observations, dans *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine : acquis et nouvelles recherches*, sous la dir. de A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin et Ch. Noyé (Rome, l'École byzantine : acquis et nouvelles recherches, sous la dir. de A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin et Ch. Noyé, 2006), p. 69-93; I. Hutter, L'annus 55 in context, *RSBN* 46, 2009, p. 73-126. Cf. aussi S. Leva, Il Diodoro Siculo Neoplatonico, *B.N.*, p. 4° (1) analogico?, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 39, 1990, p. 33-79, ici p. 72 n. 177.

36. Sur la méthode stratigraphique, cf. J. Riesebeck, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei : ricerche su* (Rome, 1982), p. 1-32 et 29-313 (sur la paléographie); Id., Juxtaposition of texts in Greek manuscripts, dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : proceedings of the seventh international congress on Byzantine studies* (Paris, 1971), dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : proceedings of the seventh international congress on Byzantine studies* (Paris, 1971), ed. by A. Bravo Garcia (Paris, 1971), p. 113-116. Pour des exemples d'utilisation de la méthode stratigraphique, cf. J. Riesebeck, *La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » del X secolo*, il *Par. Corsi* 345, *Segno e* (Rome, 1982), p. 1-32 et 29-313 (sur la paléographie); Id., Juxtaposition of texts in Greek manuscripts, dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : proceedings of the seventh international congress on Byzantine studies* (Paris, 1971), dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : proceedings of the seventh international congress on Byzantine studies* (Paris, 1971), ed. by A. Bravo Garcia (Paris, 1971), p. 113-116. Pour des exemples d'utilisation de la méthode stratigraphique, cf. J. Riesebeck, *La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » del X secolo*, il *Par. Corsi* 345, *Segno e* (Rome, 1982), p. 1-32 et 29-313 (sur la paléographie); Id., Juxtaposition of texts in Greek manuscripts, dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : proceedings of the seventh international congress on Byzantine studies* (Paris, 1971), dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : proceedings of the seventh international congress on Byzantine studies* (Paris, 1971), ed. by A. Bravo Garcia (Paris, 1971), p. 113-116.

à sa naissance et pendant quelque temps, ils ne sont pas originaires de l'Italie du Sud¹⁰. Cette affirmation n'implique toutefois pas nécessairement que leur origine soit imputable à Constantinople : le propos de Paul Canart concernant la proximité entre l'échantillon du *Vaticano* et celle peignée du Vat. Urb. gr. 35¹¹, copié pour Aréthas entre les années 900 et les premières années du x^e s.¹², ne se veut pas concluant de ce point de vue. En fait, le type de calligraphie du *Vaticano* et du *Wade* est très caractéristique et, dans sa forme extrême et recherchée, n'a pas de parallèles certains dans des manuscrits dont la rédaction peut être attribuée avec certitude à la capitale. L'aspect provincial de cette miniature n'échappe ni à Canart ni à Santo Lucà, André Jacob et Lidia Perria, qui, dans leur publication conjointe, ont attribué le *Vaticano* à la province de Constantinople¹³, sans toutefois spécifier de quelle province il peut s'agir. Mais si l'on exclut l'Occident byzantin et l'Orient arabo-palestinien – dont les livres présentent à cette époque des caractères généralement différents de ceux de nos manuscrits¹⁴ – l'aire la plus probable est à comparer celle de la région euro-asiatique proche de Constantinople. Cette aire a été décrite par Kurt Weitzmann, Robert Devreesse et Lidia Perria, au sujet de motifs repus dans une plaque « le « type Anastase » – qui est, d'une manière générale, apparentée à celle de nos manuscrits¹⁵. Or, on ne saurait ignorer que cette aire micromécanique la plus représentative le thème d'Opsikion et la Bithynie), comprenait les lieux d'origine de Théophane le Syrien et où il a été actif en tant que moine. Comme on

del *Quattrocento* (Cassola e, *Pavero, Area*) sembra in Calabria tra IX e X secolo: qualche *chiesa*, *R. di S. Maria* (1992-228), in p. 117.

1. Canari, *Lezioni di paleontologia e di osteologia greca*, Città del Vaticano 1980, p. 25; *Fluorimetro* di Vito, ibid. p. 15. Canari parla di « stile angolare ad asse inclinato » e, per *Fluorimetro*, di « stile angolare ad asse verticale ».

26. *Manuscrits grecs* (Louvain) 2.1. FOLLIERI. Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato: il cui col. 17^o *Armeniacus* datato 25-26. 1973-1974, p. 262-279, réimpr. dans FOLLIERI *Byzantina antiquaria* 2, p. 107-109. Sur les manuscrits d'Aréthas, cf. l'hypothèse de M.-J. LEZZATTO, *Les manuscrits de l'Évangile et la tradition d'Aréthas. Manuscrits grecs* 10, 2010, p. 77-110, p. 104-105.

88. *Parasiti di uccelli (per le Università Paritarie)*, a cura di P. Canali, N. Lucà, A. Jacob, L. Perria, Ediz. del Mulino, 1978, 267 pag.

di G. L. Rossi, Il Vat. Patr. gr. 876, il Vat. Sapph. gr. 1085 e la minuscola antica di area siriana, *BIBV* n. 71, 1992, p. 19-36; Esposito, Per un repertorio dei codici greci in minuscola di area siriana, *Studi* n. 25, 1996, p. 33-40; Esposito, Nuovi cratemoni della minuscola libraria greca nei papiri, *J. Theolog.* n. 54, 1997, p. 100-101; Esposito, Scritture e codici di origine orientale (Palestina, Siria) tra i V-VIII secoli, *Rapporti preliminari, BIBV* n. 36, 1999, p. 19-43; Esposito, Libri e scritture nella Siria bizantina e islamica medievale, *BIBV* n. 39, 2002, e *Coordinata di studio in ricordo di Enrico Caviglia*, Roma 29 maggio 2002, p. 115-166; Esposito, *L'orientamento identitario delle scritture e libri greci fra le regioni siriane e l'impero bizantino* (con G. L. Rossi), Teso e studi bizantini neoellenici 14), Roma 2003; Esposito, La cultura delle periferie occidentali del impero bizantino, dans *Atti del VI congresso nazionale di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, Catania-Messina, 2-5 ottobre 2000, a cura di T. Craxino e M. Caruso, Catania 2001, *Annuario Filologico* n. 49, p. 66-76, 2001.

194. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).
 195. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).
 196. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).
 197. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).
 198. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).
 199. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).
 200. *Amphispiza bilineata* (Linné, 1758) (Fig. 10, p. 66, 67).

le site, sur le mont Sigiane se trouvait le monastère de Polichnion, qui appartenait à sa famille et dans lequel il se retira avant de fonder, sur la même montagne, celui de Mégas Agros⁴². L'éventualité que nos livres aient été transcrits dans l'un des monastères où il a vécu – idée déjà avancée par Mango et Scott⁴³ – semble donc de plus en plus probable, compte tenu des circonstances paléographiques que nous venons d'évoquer. Comme le remarque Juan Signes Codoner dans ce même volume, ce n'est peut-être pas un pur hasard si, selon une interprétation probable d'un passage du *De ceremoniis*, plusieurs décennies après la mort de Théophane, une bibliothèque survivait dans le monastère de Sigiane : une bibliothèque qui ne devait pas être sans importance, si Constantin VII y chercha des matériaux pour l'un de ses traités⁴⁴.

Quant à la date de transcription de nos manuscrits, en dehors de leur proximité graphique au *Var. Unb. gr.* 35 (qui, nous l'avons dit, n'est pas attribuable à une époque antérieure à la fin du ix^e s.), leur écriture exceptionnellement rigide constitue l'une des manifestations extrêmes de ce que Follieri a appelé « *minuscola antica oblunga* »¹⁵, dont les témoins datés semblent aller de 862 (Mereona, *Metamorph.* 591, transcrit en Bithynie) à 916 (*Var. gr.* 1660)¹⁶. En somme, il semble que ces livres remontent aux dernières décennies du ix^e s. ou aux premières du x^e s., et qu'ils ont été réalisés dans l'aire septentrionale de l'Asie Mineure¹⁷.

III. LE PAYS. 62. 1710

1. Étude paléogéographique

Venons-en au troisième manuscrit ancien de la *Chronique*, le *Paris*, gr. 1710, qui ne contient que l'ouvrage théophrastien. Son écriture constitue un exemple précoce de la minuscule livresque, exemple qui peut être attribué à la seconde moitié du ix^e s. Caractérisée par un module de dimension moyenne, par une inclinaison plutôt variable de l'axe (généralement droit ou légèrement penché à droite), par la contention des traits ascendants et descendants, ainsi que par la présence régulière de crochets, parfois très marqués, à la fin des traits descendants, elle présente un *duetus* très rapide : peu soignée, elle n'est pas calligraphique du tout. Bien que l'attribution de ce livre à Stoudios ne soit pas impossible, elle reste pour autant incertaine. En effet, les caractéristiques paléographiques et codicologiques de ce manuscrit (qui – ne l'oublions pas – est dépourvu

42. Cf. Methodius, *Vita Theophrasti*, p. 15 et 25. Cf. sur le sujet, dans ce même volume, l'article de J. SARRAS-CORDONIER, Sur Sigriane cf. C. MANO, I. ŠERETSKO, Some churches and monasteries on the southern shore of the sea of Marmara, *DOCP* 27, 1973, p. 235-277, ici p. 248 et suiv.; MANO-SARRAS, p. xiv n. 13.

43. Cf. déjà, à ce propos, MANCINI - SCOTTE, p. xxviii.

44. Cf. aussi YANNIDAKIOU, *Théophraste de Sigée* (cit. n. 6), p. 295.

15. FROUJON, *La microscopie* (ciné n. 3), p. 212 et suiv.

46. *Stroph.*

17. Nous croyons que si Perria, dans deux de ses articles (*La minuscule tipo Anastasio* [cité n. 3], p. 294 et 313; *Le cronache* [cité n. 3]), a attribué nos deux livres à la seconde moitié du 18^e s., c'est d'abord parce qu'elle pensait, en suivant Wilson, que le *Parissinus* descendait du *Wahr*. Étant donné que le *Parissinus* remonte sans aucun doute au 18^e s., elle se voyait obligée d'attribuer à ce même siècle le *Wahr* et le *Vatikanus*. Mais il s'agit justement d'un préjugé : puisque — comme nous le verrons — le *Parissinus* semble être indépendant et plus ancien que ces deux livres.

de notre souscription et dont le copiste n'est identifiable à aucun scribe stoudite connu, nous nous sommes pas à l'attribuer avec certitude à ce milieu. S'il est vrai que son type de réglure est semblable à celui de l'évangélaire *Uspenskij Petropol.* RNB gr. 219 (le plus ancien manuscrit en minuscule daté, produit dans le milieu stoudite en 835⁸⁶), il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'il s'agit d'un type si élémentaire, qu'on ne saurait attribuer aucune valeur spécifique à cette coïncidence. Pour ce qui concerne les aspects paléographiques, il y a des détails dans la construction de certaines lettres (et donc dans les formes qui en résultent) qui ne se retrouvent pas – à notre connaissance – dans la tradition graphique stoudite. Nous faisons notamment référence à l'*epsilon*, constitué d'un *sigma* précédé d'un trait oblique descendant de droite à gauche (fig. 7) ; au *rho*, consistant en un cercle auquel le copiste ajoute, en correspondance avec le point de contact avec la ligne imaginaire de base, un trait descendant (fig. 8) ; à l'*omega*, formé de deux cercles juxtaposés (fig. 9). L'écriture datée la plus proche de celle de ce manuscrit n'est pas, à notre avis, comme le mentionnait Perria, celle du *Mosqm.* gr. 117, copié en 880 par un hiéromoine, Athanase, lié au monastère de Stoudios⁸⁷. Une ressemblance plus étroite peut être établie – du point de vue de la structure générale de l'écriture ainsi que de celui de la forme des lettres – avec la graphie du moine Eustace, qui a souscrit le livre chrysostomique *Metecora*, *Metamorph.* 591 (fig. 10) en 861/862 en Bithynie, plus précisément dans le monastère Sainte-Anne dans le diocèse de Kios⁸⁸. Si cette circonstance n'est pas inintéressante compte tenu des liens possibles du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake* avec la région bithynienne, la plus grande prudence est toutefois nécessaire, car, dans sa souscription, Eustace souligne qu'il a accompli la transcription pendant l'exil du patriarche Ignace (ἐν τῇ ἐξοπείᾳ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἰγνατίου). Il se considère donc comme faisant partie des partisans de ce patriarche, ce qui implique la possibilité qu'il soit arrivé au monastère Sainte-Anne en raison des persécutions qui semblent avoir eu lieu à Constantinople contre les philo-ignaciens précisément durant ces années-là⁸⁹. Quoi qu'il en soit, que le *Parisinus* soit l'œuvre d'un copiste constantinopolitain, il n'y a pas de preuves que le monastère de Stoudios soit impliqué dans la transcription. Du reste, dans l'histoire de la minuscule grecque des

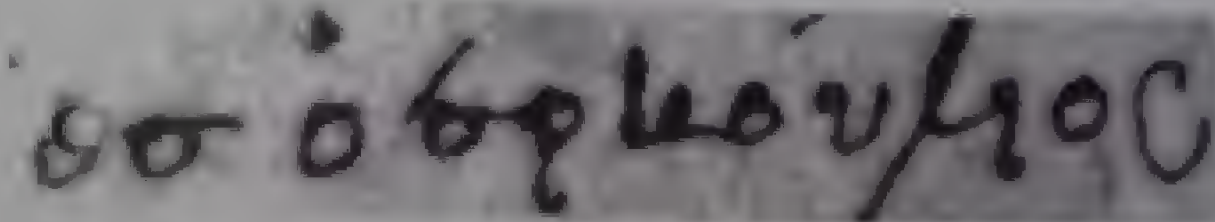


Fig. 7 - *Paru. gr. 1710* - epulon minuscule

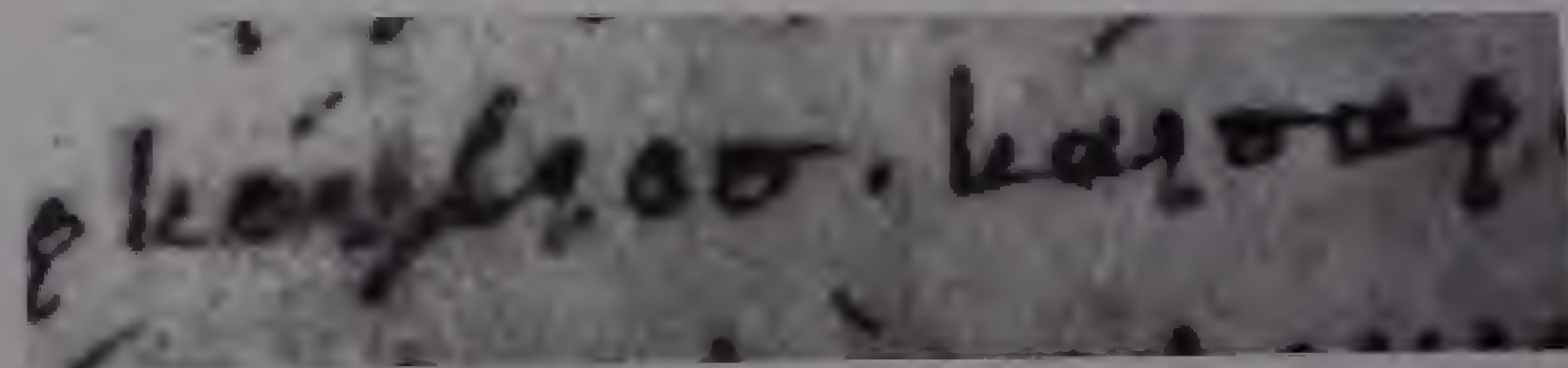
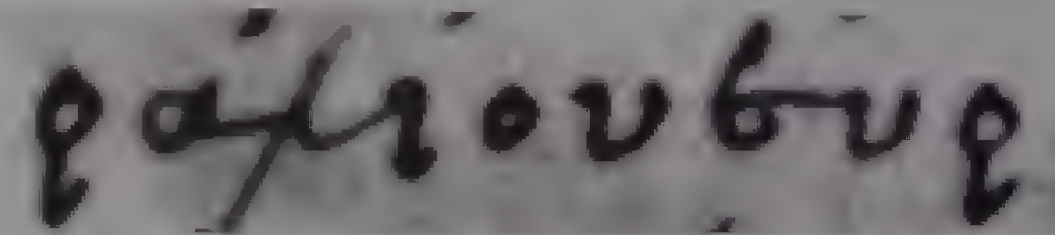


Fig. 8 - *Parrs. gr.* 1710 - rbo minuscule.

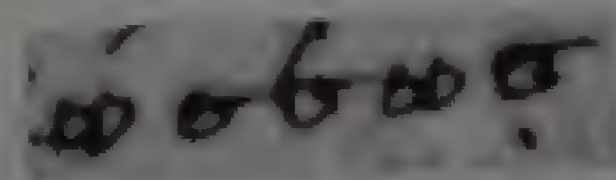
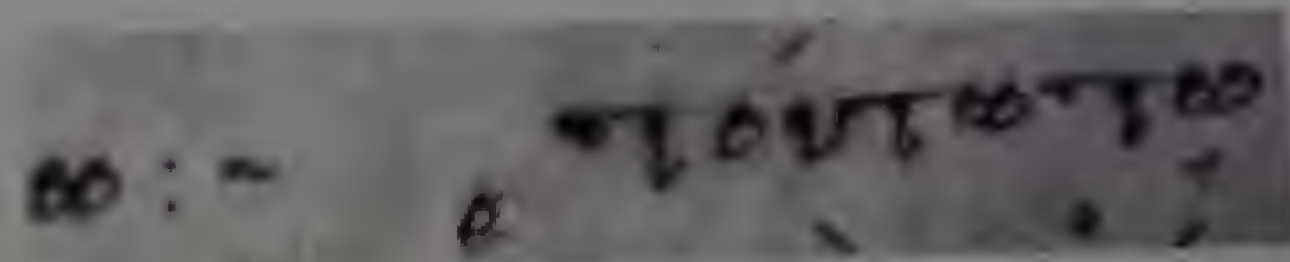


Fig. 9 - *Paris*, gr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ 10 - *orega* minuscule.

(*) O prototype de tipo de fogão WD (A) Leroy-Sauerl (système Lerov 11).

80. Ραββίνος, *De conversione* (1916), p. 35, p. 359. Cf. Φλ. Γκαμπριελόπου-Νοταρά, *Σημειώματα ἑλληνικῶν ἀποστόλων* (1914), 2η ἐκδοσις, 2^{ος} τόμος, μετὰ καὶ κορυφαίου βίου τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ: ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ 10ου, CCM 30 (1914), 1912, p. 34-35.

[illegible][illegible]

origines, le monastère constantinopolitain Saint-Jean-Baptiste risque d'être l'arbre qui cache une forêt⁵², puisque, contrairement à ce qu'on l'a cru pendant longtemps, il ne fut pas le seul endroit où la « nouvelle » écriture fut utilisée pour transcrire des livres au IX^e s. Les centres de copie actifs, aussi bien dans la capitale que dans ses périphéries, étaient plus nombreux que les sources de l'époque ne le laissent croire, et le milieu stoudite lui-même, pendant ces années critiques, s'étendait bien au-delà du monastère Saint-Jean-Baptiste, comprenant un large réseau de fondations allant de la Bithynie à la Cappadoce et aux îles égéennes : un réseau qui, entretenant des contacts avec la Palestine et l'Occident⁵³, favorisa une forte mobilité de moines, de copistes, de livres et de modèles graphiques.

Quel que fût le lien d'origine de ce livre, la reconstruction de Fonkitch a été démentie pour ce qui concerne la proposition d'en faire remonter les dates aux années trente du ix^e s. : Yannopoulos a justement remarqué qu'il contient une longue annotation qui, originellement marginale ou copiée sur un feuillet indépendant, a été englobée dans le texte⁵⁴. Dans cette annotation, qui comprend une liste de patriarches constantinopolitains, est citée la fin du règne de Jean le Grammairien, qui remonte, comme on le sait, à l'an 843. Toutefois, les conclusions que Yannopoulos a tirées de cette circonstance sont à notre avis discutables :

la scolie en question a un caractère polémique [...] contre une déclaration du patriarche Taraise [...] ce qui] ne laisse pas de doute quant à l'origine stoudite de la scolie, car les Studites n'ont jamais caché leur hostilité envers Taraise⁵⁵ [...] Et comme] à la fin de l'iconoclasme les Studites eurent les mains libres [...], très vite ils actualisèrent la scolie, ils remanièrent le dossier [qu'ils gardaient précieusement dans leur monastère⁵⁶] et ils tirèrent une première copie, le Parisinus [...], l'année même 843.⁵⁷

La proposition d'attribuer le manuscrit à l'an 843 est également hasardeuse, puisque la citation de la fin du patriarcat de Jean, dans la scolie en question, ne constitue qu'un *terminus post quem*. La transcription de ce livre pourrait donc remonter au règne du patriarche suivant, Méthode (843-847), mais une datation légèrement plus tardive ne peut pas être exclue, car la mise à jour de listes de ce type ne relevait pas d'un processus mécanique, surtout lorsqu'elles étaient, comme c'est le cas pour le *Parisinus*, intégrées dans le texte. En effet, l'écriture du manuscrit présente un système d'esprits et d'accents évolué, ainsi qu'une ponctuation correcte, c'est-à-dire des facteurs qui sembleraient militer contre une datation précoce. D'ailleurs, l'écriture datée la plus proche de celle-ci se trouve,

52. Nous nous bornons à renvoyer à la bibliographie citée dans la dernière partie de notre contribution *Essere copista a Bisanzio : tra immaginario collettivo, autorappresentazioni e realtà*, dans *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*, à cura di D. Bianconi, Roma 2014, p. 383-430.

53. Cf. *ibid.*

54. Il s'agit de la version longue de la fameuse scolie sur le concile *in Trullo*, dont la paternité est attribuée au milieu stoudite par Yannopoulos. Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 543-544, n. 41. *Iv.*, *Théophane de Sigeion* (cité n. 6), p. 284 et suiv. et à Georges le Syncelle par Strick, *Der zweite Theophanes* (cité n. 2), p. 478-481 : cf., à ce propos, l'article de I. SIKES-COOPER dans ce même volume.

55. YANNOPOULOS, Une note (cité n. 17), p. 528 n. 11. Cf. aussi *Iv.*, *Théophane de Sigeion* (cité n. 6), p. 285 et 287.

56. YANNOPOULOS, Une note (cité n. 17), p. 529.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 528-530. Cf. aussi YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigeion* (cité n. 6), p. 285.

est l'un des, dans un manuscrit du début des années soixante du neuvième siècle, le *Monach. Anagnin.* 591⁶³.

En résumé, l'idée d'une implication directe des stoudites dans la première phase de la transmission de la *Chronique* (idée soutenue ingénieusement, entre autres, par Denys E. Atinogenov⁶⁴) est, en dernière analyse, basée sur la reconstruction de l'histoire relative au *Parisinus*⁶⁵, reconstruction qui reste, nous l'avons dit, pour le moins hypothétique.

2. Étude paléographique

a. Anomalies paléographiques, codicologiques et textuelles

L'analyse paléographique du *Parisinus* permet de détecter deux endroits où un changement d'écriture se manifeste. Les deux coupures graphiques se produisent, l'une, entre les fol. 7 et 8, l'autre entre les fol. 332 et 333 (en correspondance avec l'AM 6209). Ces coupures divisent le manuscrit en trois sections :



Dans les sections I et III, si la main reste sans aucun doute la même que dans la section II⁶⁶, on remarque plusieurs spécificités : le module des lettres est plus ample et le script plus rigide, comporte une réduction du contrôle dans la réalisation des caractères, notamment en ce qui concerne les traits ascendants et descendants ainsi que les crochets à la fin de ces derniers (bien plus développés que dans la section II). L'outil d'écriture est évidemment différent (les traits sont plus épais, donnant à l'écriture un aspect plus lourd, sans forme lincée, qui est moins lincée). La chaîne graphique est alignée d'une façon moins régulière sur la ligne imaginaire de base. Des différences subsistent entre les sections I et III, ainsi qu'à l'intérieur de la section III : dans cette dernière, le copiste manifeste parfois la tendance à revenir à un contrôle plus attentif de son *ductus* (par exemple aux fol. 382 et 397). Concernant la section I, le *ductus* est en général un peu plus soigné que dans la section III. Pour autant, l'écriture de ces deux sections se distingue nettement de celle, plus régulière, de la partie II.

⁶³ 17 lignes.

⁶⁴ D. E. Atinogenov, *Did the patriarchal indiction end up in the monastery of Stoudios? Ninth century evidence from a new perspective* (documentaire), dans *Monasteries, images, power and society* (Études sur le M. O. Byzant. 2006), p. 123-133, ou p. 132-133.

⁶⁵ La reconstruction relative à son histoire, par exemple dans YANNIDIOPOULOS, Une note (cité n. 17), p. 107-108 et 112, ou dans le *Journal of Byzantine Studies*, t. 61, n. 249 et 251, 647 ; AINSOGANOV, *Did the patriarchal indiction end up in the monastery of Stoudios?* (cité n. 64).

⁶⁶ L'absence de traces de l'écriture stoudite dans les manuscrits de l'édition de la *Chronique* ne constitue pas une preuve négative de son absence, car il est possible que l'écriture stoudite ait été utilisée pour la transmission de la *Chronique* (la position de la *Chronique* dans le *Parisinus* est à cet égard intéressante) ; cf. aussi, à ce propos, l'article de J. L. GILLON, *La transmission de la Chronique de Théophraste* (cité n. 17).

⁶⁷ L'absence de traces de l'écriture stoudite dans les manuscrits de l'édition de la *Chronique* ne constitue pas une preuve négative de son absence, car il est possible que l'écriture stoudite ait été utilisée pour la transmission de la *Chronique* (la position de la *Chronique* dans le *Parisinus* est à cet égard intéressante) ; cf. aussi, à ce propos, l'article de J. L. GILLON, *La transmission de la Chronique de Théophraste* (cité n. 17).

L'analyse codicologique confirme cette répartition, de quatre points de vue. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne la qualité du parchemin, qui semble en général mieux préparé dans la section II, plus grossier dans les autres⁶⁴. En deuxième lieu, pour la mise en page : alors que la section I comprend un nombre variable de lignes par page (de 19 à 24), la section II en compte toujours 23 et la section III 24. Un troisième facteur est relatif à la dimension des feuillets, qui est sensiblement plus petite dans la section I⁶⁵. Le quatrième et plus important facteur consiste en la structure des cahiers dont la position correspond à la première des deux coupures graphiques. Nous reportons, dans le tableau suivant, la structure fasciculaire complète du manuscrit :

Cah.	fol.	Cah.	fol.	Cah.	fol.	Cah.	fol.
1 ^{er}	2-7	14 ^{er}	102-109	27 ^{er}	206-213	40 ^{er}	310-317
2 ^{er}	8-13	15 ^{er}	110-117	28 ^{er}	214-221	41 ^{er}	318-325
3 ^{er}	14-21	16 ^{er}	118-125	29 ^{er}	222-229	42 ^{er}	326-333
4 ^{er}	22-29	17 ^{er}	126-133	30 ^{er}	230-237	43 ^{er}	334-341
5 ^{er}	30-37	18 ^{er}	134-141	31 ^{er}	238-245	44 ^{er}	342-349
6 ^{er}	38-45	19 ^{er}	142-149	32 ^{er}	246-253	45 ^{er}	350-357
7 ^{er}	46-53	20 ^{er}	150-157	33 ^{er}	254-261	46 ^{er}	358-365
8 ^{er}	54-61	21 ^{er}	158-165	34 ^{er}	262-269	47 ^{er}	366-373
9 ^{er}	62-69	22 ^{er}	166-173	35 ^{er}	270-277	48 ^{er}	374-381
10 ^{er}	70-77	23 ^{er}	174-181	36 ^{er}	278-285	49 ^{er}	382-387
11 ^{er}	78-85	24 ^{er}	182-189	37 ^{er}	286-293	50 ^{er}	388-395
12 ^{er}	86-93	25 ^{er}	190-197	38 ^{er}	294-301	51 ^{er}	396-397
13 ^{er}	94-101	26 ^{er}	198-205	39 ^{er}	302-309		

Tableau 3

Dans le *Parisinus*, quatre cahiers seulement présentent une structure différente du format-standard du quaternion : les deux premiers (fol. 2-7 et fol. 8-13), le 49^{er} (fol. 382-387) et le dernier, qui ne consiste qu'en un bifeuillet (fol. 396-397)⁶⁶. Quant au 49^{er} et au dernier, il faut toutefois remarquer que leur irrégularité n'est qu'apparente, car le bifeuillet 396-397 était à l'origine le *bifolia* externe du 49^{er} cahier, qui était donc un quaternion régulier⁶⁷. En somme, les seuls cahiers n'étant pas des quaternions originaires

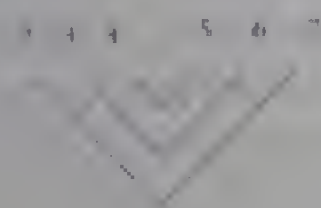
⁶³ Il est plus épais, avec des trous de préparation et des lisières.

⁶⁴ Fol. 2-7 : 170 × 240 mm ; fol. 8-fin : 184 × 240 mm.

⁶⁵ Parmi les autres cahiers, il y a dix-huit quaternions irréguliers, c'est-à-dire des cahiers qui, même s'ils sont formés de huit feuillets au total, ne consistent pas en quatre bifeuillets, mais en deux ou plus souvent, trois bifeuillets et en feuillets indépendants. Il s'agit notamment du 3^{er} cahier (dont les 1^{er}, 2^{er}, 7^{er} et 8^{er} feuillets sont indépendants), des cahiers 8^{er}, 11^{er}, 14^{er}, 17^{er}, 18^{er}, 21^{er}, 27^{er}, 34^{er}, 36^{er}, 40^{er}, 42^{er}, 44^{er} (les 2^{er} et 7^{er} feuillets desquels sont indépendants), des cahiers 12^{er}, 19^{er}, 43^{er} (les 3^{er} et 6^{er} feuillets desquels sont indépendants), du 30^{er} (dont les 1^{er} et 7^{er} feuillets sont indépendants) et du 50^{er} (dont les 2^{er}, 4^{er}, 5^{er} et 7^{er} feuillets sont indépendants). De telles irrégularités ne font que confirmer la reconstruction qui suit, démontrant que le copiste s'efforçait constamment de constituer des cahiers de huit feuillets, même si les matériaux dont il disposait rendaient cette tâche difficile.

⁶⁶ Il faut aussi noter que ce 49^{er} cahier était originellement précédé du cahier qui le suit actuellement (le 50^{er} cahier, formé des fol. 388-395. En d'autres termes, la succession originelle des fol. 382-397 était : 388-395, 396, 382-387, 397).

ont, dans le *Paratitus*, le premier et le deuxième. Concentrons-nous sur leurs structures. Le premier comprenait à l'origine 7 feuillets, dont le premier, dépareillé, est aujourd'hui perdu¹⁰ :



L'évaluation de la capacité moyenne des pages du livre permet d'affirmer que ce feuillet initial dépareillé contenait le titre général et la première partie de la préface de la *Chronique*. En effet, le manuscrit actuel s'ouvre (avec le feuillet numéroté « 2 ») au beau milieu de la préface, qui se termine sur le fol. 2'. Le fol. 3' est blanc et sur le fol. 3 se trouve le titre intermédiaire (Χρονογραφία ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἕως Μιχαήλ καὶ Θεοδοσίου τῶν βασιλέων ; cf. fig. 11).

Quant au deuxième cahier, il est constitué de 6 feuillets, dont les deux derniers sont dépareillés :



L'absence de ces deux feuillets n'est pas due à un accident matériel, mais elle est intentionnelle, car il n'y a aucune lacune textuelle entre le fol. 7 et le fol. 8. L'irrégularité structurelle de ces deux premiers cahiers est importante, parce que le copiste, comme nous l'avons dit, s'est efforcé de produire tout au long du manuscrit des quaternions, utilisant souvent, à cette fin, des feuillets dépareillés¹¹. Pour quelle raison aurait-il agi de façon différente au début de son manuscrit, compromettant l'aspect du livre justement là où les scribes tendaient, au contraire, à réaliser des structures fasciculaires régulières ? La coïncidence de ces anomalies codicologiques avec la coupure graphique qui tombe entre les fol. 7 et 8 fait planer un soupçon de remaniement sur cette partie initiale. Mais il s'agit là d'une hypothèse si radicale – et qui, comme nous le verrons, semble avoir de nombreuses implications pour l'histoire de la *Chronique* – qu'elle exige des preuves tangibles à l'appui. Un détail textuel, jusqu'aujourd'hui inaperçu, se révèle fondamental de ce point de vue. Le fol. 9 (qui ouvre le deuxième cahier), commence par une petite rature, dans laquelle il est encore possible de lire les deux mots (εὐσεβὺς δὲ). Il s'agit des deux mêmes mots par lesquels se termine le feuillet précédent (7' : fig. 12) :

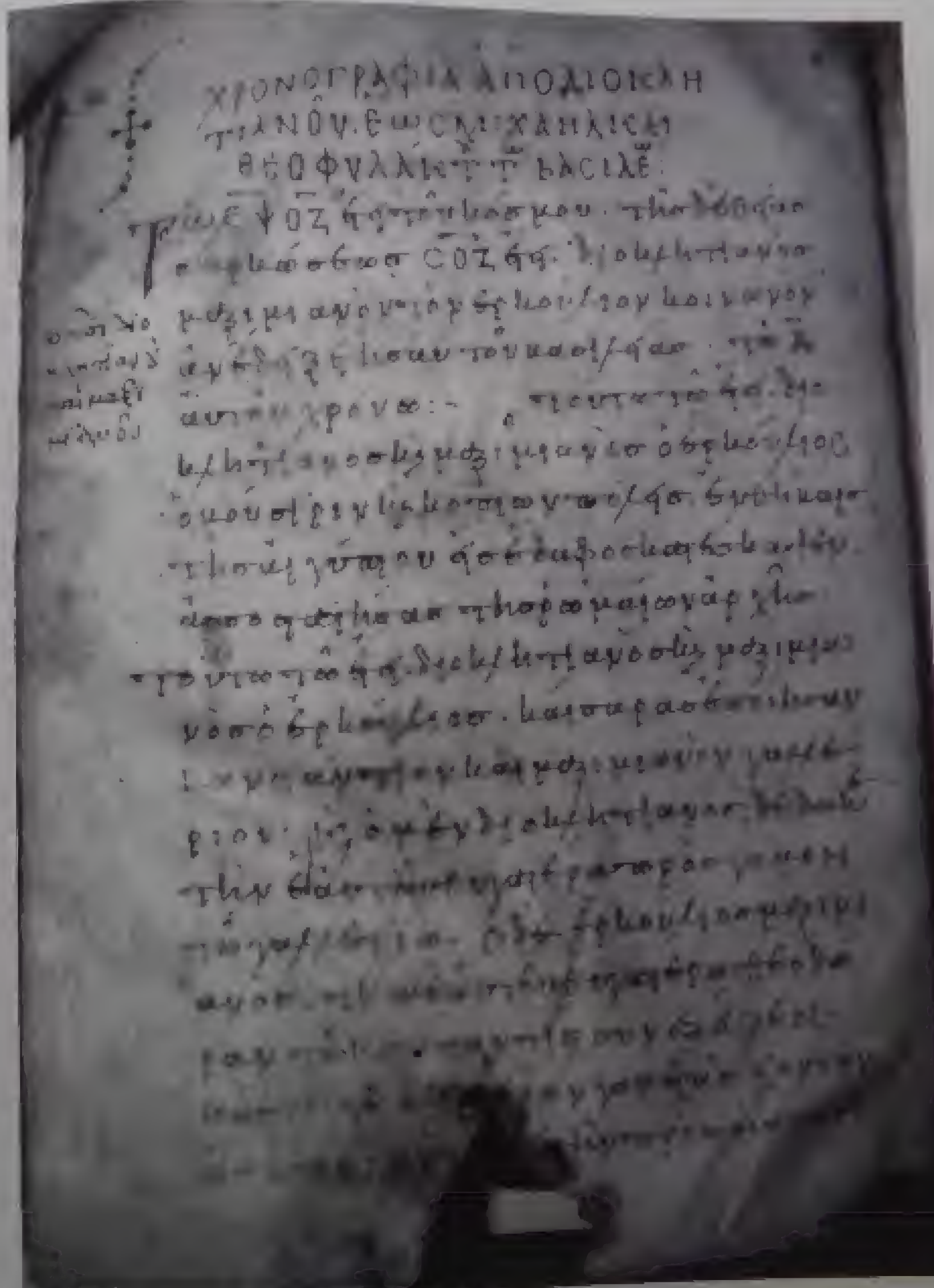
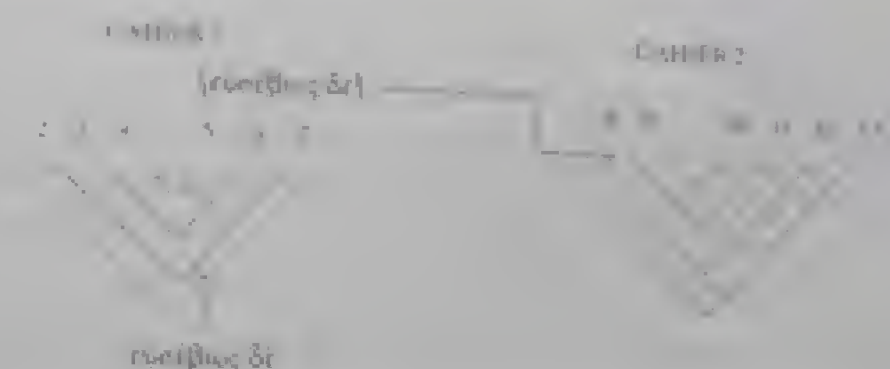


Fig. 11 – Para. gr. 1^{re} fol. 3.

¹⁰ On connaît cependant une version de la Chronique qui possède une brève lacune au début du livre : celle de la bibliothèque de Saint-Marc à Venise (Ms. 5222), qui commence au fol. 1027 caractères, qui, dans l'édition de 1831, est corrigée par le copiste.

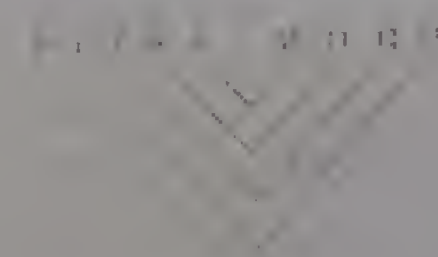


Que cette dittographie soit due à une simple erreur du copiste est impossible, si l'on considère qu'elle coïncide avec une coupure à la fois graphique et codicologique.

En somme, au passage du fol. 7 au fol. 8 du *Parisinus*, il y a une coïncidence d'anomalies textuelles, codicologiques et paléographiques.

b) Reconstruction dynamique de la genèse du *Parisinus* : la première phase

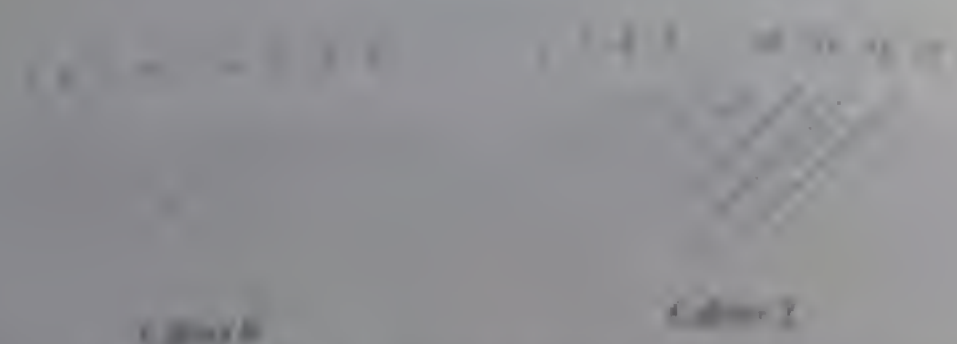
Les spécificités du premier cahier (qui présente une écriture caractéristique, une structure anormale, un nombre de lignes par page variable et des dimensions de feuillets inférieures par rapport au reste du livre) semblent indiquer qu'il peut avoir été inséré dans le manuscrit à un moment postérieur à la réalisation de celui-ci. Nous reviendrons sur cet aspect. Pour l'instant, laissons de côté ce premier cahier et concentrons notre attention sur le deuxième. Ce cahier était certainement formé lui aussi, à l'origine, de huit feuillets, comme tous les autres. En d'autres termes, entre les fol. 7 et 8, il y avait originellement deux feuillets, dont il ne reste aujourd'hui que deux talons. Que contenaient-ils ? Sans aucun doute, une partie de la *Chronique*, mais pas son début : un calcul fondé sur la capacité moyenne des feuillets de ce cahier démontre qu'il en aurait fallu, non pas deux, mais au moins trois, pour remonter jusqu'au début du règne de Dioclétien, point de départ du récit « théophtanien »⁶⁹. Il n'y a donc que deux possibilités. La première est que le cahier 2 ait été irrégulier dès l'origine, comportant un feuillet initial dépareillé plus quatre bifeuillets :



Mais cette hypothèse est improbable : pour quelle raison le copiste aurait-il eu recours à une telle structure irrégulière au début de son manuscrit ? Et où la préface aurait-elle été placée ?

La seconde hypothèse, qui nous semble plus plausible, suppose l'existence d'un autre cahier, aujourd'hui perdu, précédant le 2^e cahier :

69. Il est vrai que cette partie de la *Chronique* occupe actuellement, dans le premier cahier, quatre feuillets et demi, mais il est aussi vrai que les dimensions des feuillets de ce premier cahier sont réduites (170 x 240 mm), comme leur capacité, par rapport aux feuillets qui précèdent originellement le fol. 8 et qui étaient semblables à ceux qui constituent le reste du manuscrit (184 x 240 mm). Donc il aurait fallu environ trois feuillets.



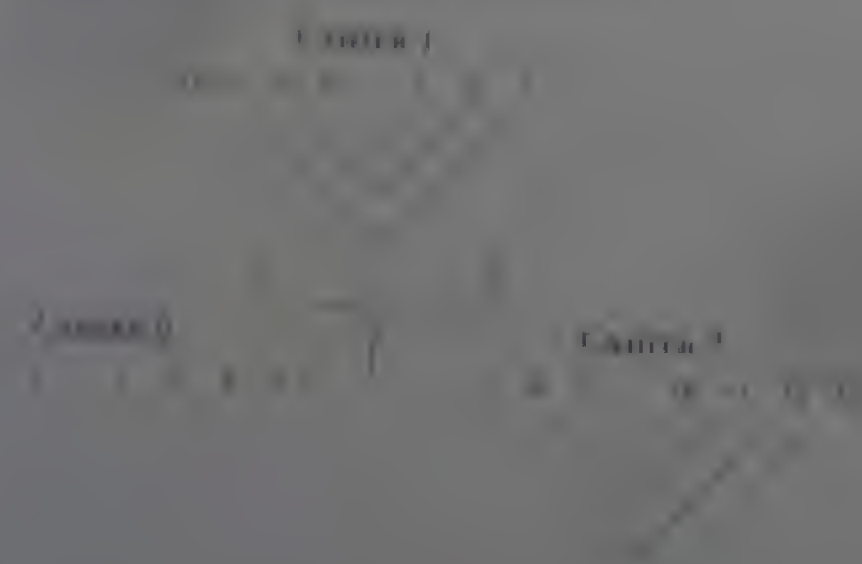
Le début du règne de Constantin doit probablement contenir dans le dernier feuillet de ce volume un double qui nous apprenne à quoi le substitua. Mais si cela est vrai dans le manuscrit original, un autre texte devait précéder celui de Théophraste, occupant les fol. 1 et 2 du cahier 1, et c'est, évidemment, les feuillets de cahiers précédents, les deux autres, dans lequel.

C'est évidemment qui depuis semble permettre de répondre à cette question : dans quel des manuscrits anciens qui font partie de la branche stemmatique du *Parabasis* (y compris la *Chronique* d'Anastase le Sinaïte), la *Chronique* est précédée de la seconde partie de l'ouvrage de Georges le Sinaïte²¹. Il n'est donc pas improbable qu'à l'origine ce texte et son épilogue furent dans notre manuscrit. Il faudrait donc imaginer un *De Parabasis* comprenant la seconde partie du texte du Sinaïte et la *Chronique*. Mais il y a plus, nous avons bien vu et nous voyons que dans ce manuscrit original, la *Chronique* n'existait pas en tant que telle.

Restons donc au cahier qui couvre actuellement le *Parabasis*, le cahier 1 (fol. 27).

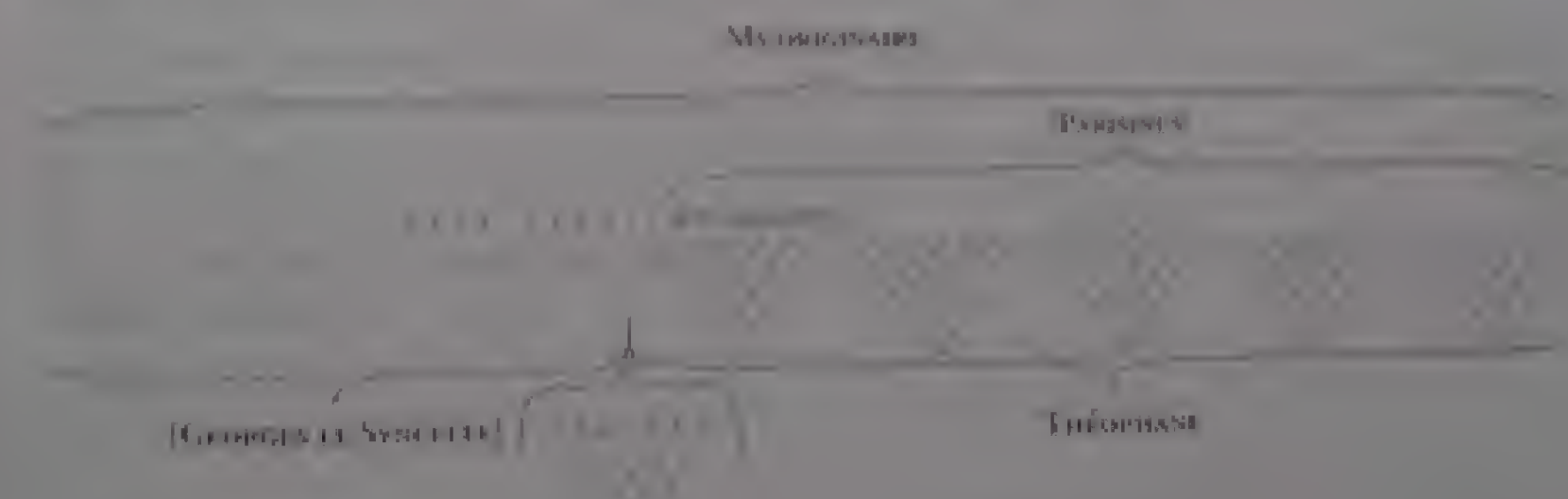
La seconde phase : l'insertion du titre et de la préface

En effet, si le désir de faire copier séparément n'avait été que de séparer un texte particulier (probablement la *Chronographie* de Georges le Sinaïte) de la *Chronique*, il aurait simplement coupé en deux le support original (l'*De Parabasis*). Or, il en est tout autrement : si notre reconstruction est vraie, comme plusieurs facteurs d'ordre paléographique, codicologique et textual semblent l'indiquer, il a inséré un cahier entre le cahier 1 (fol. 27) et le cahier 2, il a copié partiellement du cahier 1, qui couvre le manuscrit actuel et qui, comme nous l'avons dit, est sans aucun doute le fruit d'une insertion. C'est probablement pour concorder le contenu de ce cahier à ce qui suivait que le copiste manuscrit a réécrit les deux premiers feuillets du cahier 2.



Un détail apparemment insignifiant confirme cette reconstruction : dans les derniers feuillets du fol. 7 du dernier du cahier inséré, le copiste a réécrit le module des lettres appartenant même une ligne en supplément dans la marge inférieure. Ainsi faisait-il à l'usage de l'écriture le sous qui il était en train d'écrire avec celui du cahier suivant, qui donc précéderait certainement. Transféré, nous dirions en mieux, un petit détail qui se produit : c'est la présence, à la fin du fol. 7, des caractéristiques de, qui se reproduisent dès au début du fol. 8. Le même copiste, ou quelqu'un d'autre pas la même à l'usage en tant qu'il supprimait la diacritique.

Une opération si complexe – l'adjonction d'un cahier, l'ajoutement de deux feuillets et un essai méticuleux de raccordement – suppose la volonté d'arriver à un résultat sous à fait particulier, qui, à notre avis, ne pouvait être que celui d'insérer une portion de texte. Comme nous l'avons dit, si le copiste n'avait envisagé que de séparer l'ouvrage précédent (de Georges le Sinaïte probablement) de la *Chronique*, il se serait limité à décaler le cahier commun. Or, nous l'avons noté, le cahier ajouté, qui couvre le manuscrit actuel, contient la préface, le titre intermédiaire ainsi que, avant la chute du feuillet inséré, le titre général de la *Chronique*. Ce sont donc ces éléments qui, si notre reconstruction est exacte, ont été ajoutés. Le support original, beaucoup plus ample que le *Parabasis*, n'aurait en somme pas contenu deux chroniques indépendantes (celle du Sinaïte et celle dite de Théophraste), mais une longue chronique unitaire. Quelque temps après l'avoir réalisé, le même copiste aurait opéré un remaniement, poursuivant deux objectifs : d'un côté, il visait à couper en deux la longue chronique ; de l'autre, à insérer un cahier qui, contenant un titre général²² et une préface, rendit la dernière partie de ce long récit textuellement indépendante, de sorte à en faire un ouvrage autonome, l'ouvrage justement qui a été attribué à Théophraste :



La plus grande prudence s'impose évidemment dans l'appréciation d'une telle hypothèse. Mais une autre circonstance vient s'ajouter aux éléments examinés jusqu'ici, circonstance qui, si l'on ne saurait y attribuer une valeur probante, semblerait du moins nous encourager dans la reconstruction que nous proposons dans la présente étude. La

²¹ Pour un comportement identique de la part d'un copiste plus tardif, cf. D. Basson, « Copista Palamas e oltre » : qualche riflessione su cultura prolata, libri e pratica intellettuale nella controriforma palamita, *Medioevo greco* 5, 2005, p. 93-119, ici p. 111 n. 74.

²² Aujourd'hui perdu.

L'annographie abrégée d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire comprend, entre autres, comme on le voit, les versions latines des ouvrages du Syncelle et de la *Chronique*. La traduction pour la partie initiale de la *Chronique* est partielle, si bien qu'il s'agit là d'un témoin à manier avec circonspection⁷⁷. Pour autant, elle comporte un détail intéressant. En effet, dans cette traduction, la *Chronique* ne présente ni titre ni préface et ne constitue que la seconde partie d'un long récit attribué au Syncelle. La seule coupure consiste que la note intitulée *Hilarius qui est Theophanes*⁷⁸ : une formule qui pourrait bien constituer la conclusion d'une note marginale. On ne peut donc pas exclure que, dans le modèle de la traduction d'Anastase, les deux textes aient constitué un texte unique, coupé en deux à posteriori par une note du type *ἐκ τῆς ἐν ὁρίων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοφάνους*⁷⁹. Une conjecture sur ce point, qui mérite toutefois d'être formulée, si l'on tient compte du fait que, du point de vue stemmatique, le *Parisinus* semble être le manuscrit le plus proche du modèle grec employé par Anastase : le livre de Paris présente en effet des lacunes qui, malgré des différences importantes⁸⁰, partagent la brièveté et l'absence des schèmes chronologiques et des *terminata* généalogiques, qui sont en revanche présents dans le *Wake* et dans le *Vaticanus*.

De Conclusion

Notre analyse des trois manuscrits les plus anciens de la *Chronique* dite de Théophane aboutit à des résultats différents. Quant au *Vaticanus* et au *Wake*, elle confirme qu'il s'agit de deux livres produits dans un même milieu, peut-être micro-asiatique, non pas dans le cadre d'une opération « massive » de diffusion de la *Chronique*, mais plutôt afin de satisfaire des communautés de haut niveau, évidemment intéressées par un récit historique universel. Les manuscrits contiennent en effet, outre la *Chronique*, le texte de Georges le Syncelle et, pour ce qui est du *Wake*, la *Chronographia brevis* attribuée à Nicéphore Patriarche⁸¹. L'interrelation ne semble pas être allée sans un travail complexe sur le texte comportant, entre autres, l'insertion de tableaux et des *terminata* généalogiques. Pour ce qui concerne le *Parisinus*, notre étude propose deux résultats : l'un avéré, l'autre hypothétique. Quant au premier, les données paléographiques, codicologiques et textuelles indiquent que le manuscrit qui porte le *Parisinus* – contenant la préface et le titre de la *Chronique* – est le fruit d'un geste ancien, dû au copiste lui-même, ajout qui a comporté un remaniement initial du début de l'ouvrage. L'hypothèse – étant donné que, dans les manuscrits faisant

partie de la même branche de tradition que le *Parisinus*, la *Chronique* est précédée de la seconde partie du texte du Syncelle, et que, dans la traduction d'Anastase, la distinction entre les deux ouvrages est presque imperceptible, il n'est pas injustifié d'imaginer que le *Parisinus* constitue la partie terminale d'un support plus ample, contenant à l'origine une longue chronique. Ce récit comprenait vraisemblablement la seconde partie du texte de Georges le Syncelle et ce qu'on appelle la *Chronique de Théophane*. L'ample support original semble avoir été divisé en deux par le copiste lui-même, afin de rendre autonome la seconde partie, en ajoutant un cahier contenant une préface et un titre. Ce second texte (qu'on appelle la *Chronique de Théophane*) ne constituait donc à l'origine que la seconde partie d'une longue chronique universelle. Si cette reconstruction est correcte, le *Parisinus* témoigne d'un processus de séparation qui est à l'opposé du processus de rassemblement que l'analyse stratigraphique semblerait dévoiler pour le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake*⁸². En d'autres termes, l'histoire initiale de la *Chronique* semblerait avoir connu deux mouvements antithétiques : l'un, pour ainsi dire centrifuge, consistant dans l'acquisition d'une indépendance identitaire vis-à-vis d'un ensemble original indistinct (« *Chronographia* du Syncelle + *Chronique* »), l'autre, centripète, comportant la reconstitution d'une unité dans la distinction, et visant à recréer une chronique universelle.

Indépendamment de notre hypothèse, reste le fait avéré : dans le manuscrit le plus ancien de la *Chronique*, porteur d'une version différente de celle des autres témoins, la préface et le titre attestant la paternité théophanienne se trouvent dans un cahier ajouté par le copiste lui-même, à la suite d'un remaniement. Cela implique une série de questions radicales : quelle est l'origine de cette préface ? S'agit-il d'un texte créé expressément pour être inséré dans le *Parisinus*, en vue d'une falsification ? Dans ce cas, comment expliquer la présence dans la branche de tradition représentée par le *Wake* et le *Vaticanus*, qui ne semblent pas descendre de notre livre ? Faut-il plutôt imaginer qu'elle ait préexisté au *Parisinus*, constituant un texte à la nature différente, adapté au nouveau contexte ? Quel fut le rôle véritable de Théophane dans toute cette histoire, étant donné que la réalisation et le remaniement du *Parisinus* ont eu lieu à une époque qui est sans aucun doute postérieure à sa mort ?

C'est à partir de ces observations que la « question théophanienne » semblerait devoir être rouverte⁸³.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Annuaire épigraphique pour l'année 1922*, rec. E. Perels et G. Lachr (MGH Ep. 7), 1922, fasc. 1, 1922, fasc. 2, 1922, fasc. 3, 1922, fasc. 4, 1922, fasc. 5, 1922, fasc. 6, 1922, fasc. 7, 1922, fasc. 8, 1922, fasc. 9, 1922, fasc. 10, 1922, fasc. 11, 1922, fasc. 12, 1922, fasc. 13, 1922, fasc. 14, 1922, fasc. 15, 1922, fasc. 16, 1922, fasc. 17, 1922, fasc. 18, 1922, fasc. 19, 1922, fasc. 20, 1922, fasc. 21, 1922, fasc. 22, 1922, fasc. 23, 1922, fasc. 24, 1922, fasc. 25, 1922, fasc. 26, 1922, fasc. 27, 1922, fasc. 28, 1922, fasc. 29, 1922, fasc. 30, 1922, fasc. 31, 1922, fasc. 32, 1922, fasc. 33, 1922, fasc. 34, 1922, fasc. 35, 1922, fasc. 36, 1922, fasc. 37, 1922, fasc. 38, 1922, fasc. 39, 1922, fasc. 40, 1922, fasc. 41, 1922, fasc. 42, 1922, fasc. 43, 1922, fasc. 44, 1922, fasc. 45, 1922, fasc. 46, 1922, fasc. 47, 1922, fasc. 48, 1922, fasc. 49, 1922, fasc. 50, 1922, fasc. 51, 1922, fasc. 52, 1922, fasc. 53, 1922, fasc. 54, 1922, fasc. 55, 1922, fasc. 56, 1922, fasc. 57, 1922, fasc. 58, 1922, fasc. 59, 1922, fasc. 60, 1922, fasc. 61, 1922, fasc. 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Anastasius started his *CT* with excerpts of the *Opuscula Historica* attributed to Nestor, patriarch of Constantinople (806–15), who died in 828, 20 years before they said Nestor wrote, possibly a continuation of Theophylact Simocatta, provided genealogies of figures ranging from Adam up to Emperor Michael III (d. 867).⁸ This part included lists of Christian patriarchs and high priests of Israel, emperors and empresses, and books of the bible, as well as a family tree of Valentinian I. The second part of Anastasius' *CT* was an excerpt of the *Ecloga Chronographica* of George Syncellus,⁹ that covered the history of the Roman Empire from Pompey to the rule of Diocletian.¹⁰ Finally, excerpts of the *Chronographus* of Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) extended the Latin ecclesiastical history requested by John the Deacon (the so-called *Historia Ecclesiastica* which John never completed) from Diocletian up to 813.¹¹

CONTEXT OF ANASTASIUS' TRANSLATION

It is in the context of Rome's rapprochement with the Byzantines as a potential ally against the Saracens that we can understand Anastasius' decision to translate the three Byzantine chronicles that made up the *Historia tripartita*, and especially the almost full translation of Theophanes' account of the decades after Muhammad's death. These years were crucial for the developing understanding by Byzantium that Islamic military power was a formidable threat. Anastasius had a keen interest in the beginnings of this threat to Frankish and Byzantine powers, and in sharing that knowledge with others in the West, even though his account may have been at times misleading and inaccurate. Inadequate as it may have been, the *CT* became the chief source on Islam available in western Europe between the ninth and twelfth centuries, when it was superseded by two polemical works of Peter the Venerable of Cluny. These were *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* and *Liber contra incantationes et idoleas Saracenorum*.¹² Even Peter, however, used Anastasius as his main source. It is perhaps ironic that a work begun with the intent of mending fences with the Byzantines eventually served as an instrument of the Crusades, which drove the western and eastern churches into a schism that has lasted until today.

The question of whether Anastasius had independent knowledge of the Arabs, or Saracens, as he usually calls them, is a vexed one. He may well have had first-hand knowledge of their successful attempt to breach the walls of Rome in 846 during the pontificate of Sergius. His successor Pope Leo IV (847–55) was left to organise his own repairs to the walls, although the Frankish emperor Lothar, then king of Italy, assisted with an empire-wide tax for the fortification of Rome. His son and co-ruler Louis II, later king of Italy, repelled the Saracens in 847 and again in 852 near Benevento.¹³ He also provided military aid in 871 which contributed to a significant naval victory over Arab forces at Bari, before his eventual capture by Adelchis, duke of Benevento.

Anastasius was involved indirectly in Louis II's attempts to repel the Arab fleet in 871.¹⁴ A letter reportedly sent by Louis to the Byzantine emperor Basil in 866, requesting naval support against the Saracens, is thought by some scholars to have been written by Anastasius but unfortunately this letter does not survive. Anastasius had close connections with the court of Louis II, his uncle Arsenius, later bishop of Orte (855–68), being the legate (*missus*) of Louis II from 848 or 849.¹⁵ Anastasius probably sought refuge in Louis' court after his expulsion from the city by Leo IV in 850, before his triumphant return to the city as antipope in 855. Thus he was only too well acquainted with the risks posed by this alien force and its alien religion.

The only reason this should be of any interest to readers of a volume on Theophanes' *Chronicle* is that Anastasius can add (albeit meagrely) to what we know from Theophanes for the years from 565 to the end of the *Chronicle*, because he translated it literally and in full, and because he had access to a better Greek manuscript of Theophanes' text than that preserved in the edition of de Boor. Throughout his other works (to be discussed below) Anastasius consistently identifies Arabs with Saracens, an identification which was to become the stereotype in the medieval West. In this respect, he follows Theophanes. The Saracens, first mentioned by Theophanes in the year 335/6 as the captors of the Assyrians in Persia,¹⁶ were identified with Ishmaelites by Sozomen.¹⁷ Theophanes knew

9. B. M. KRAUTZ, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries*, Philadelphia PA, 1996, pp. 26 f., 37.

10. *Ludovic II, Imperatoris epistola ad Basilium I, Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum missa*, ed. W. Henze (MGH Ep. 7, Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5), Berlin 1912–28, repr. München 1978, pp. 386–94. Other scholars have claimed that the letter was a fabrication made later by Anastasius under Pope John VIII; see Henze's preface, to the edition, p. 386. For a full analysis of this important letter, with a bibliography of recent scholarship on it, see Federico MONTISARO's chapter in this volume.

11. *Il Chronicon di Benedetto, monaco di S. Andrea del Saratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, a cura di G. Zuccheri (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 55), Roma 1920, p. 203.

12. Theoph. Ast 5828, p. 33: "in the same year [AD 335/6] many of the Assyrians in Persia were being sold in Mesopotamia by the Saracens" (Mango – Scott, p. 54). This section is omitted from Anastasius' *CT*.

13. Soz., VI, 3, pp. 456–64; Sozomen described how their leader Maria led them to victory in Arabia, and signed a truce with the Romans. He continues, "This is the tribe which took its origin and had its name from Ishmael, the son of Abraham; and the ancients called them Ishmaelites after their progenitor. As their mother Hagar was a slave, they afterwards, to conceal the approbrium of their origin, assumed the name of Saracens, as if they were descended from Sara, the wife of Abraham. Such being their origin, they practice circumcision like the Jews, refrain from the use of pork, and observe many other Jewish rites and customs"; transl. C. D. Harranff, *The Ecclesiastical history of Sozomen* (Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ser. 2, 23, Edinburgh 1893, p. 378).

14. *De vita sancti Papae Leonis IV* (1870). The dictionary prefaces are published by E. Perels and G. Lielu, in *Anastasius: Chronographus graecus et latinus* (MGH Ep. 7, Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5), Berlin 1912–28, repr. Göttingen 1988, pp. 191–193. See G. ARBORELI, *Caracalla, Immonide e la cultura a Roma d'Oriente*, 2 voll. (1970), Vol. *Immonide e la cultura italiana per il medioevo* 68, 1980, pp. 13–20. For a review of Anastasius' translation, see N. N. *Seventh century papacy* (quoted in 2), pp. 10–11. E. L. JONES, *Anastasius: Bibliothecarius and his general dossier: 2 Greek collections and their Latin translation in tenth-century Rome*, in *Chrysostomus arabicus dans les collections médiévales* (Paris 1990), pp. 107–10. *Index* (Collection de l'École des Hautes Études, 1991), pp. 107–10.

15. *De vita sancti Papae Leonis IV* (1870). The dictionary prefaces are published by E. Perels and G. Lielu, in *Anastasius: Chronographus graecus et latinus* (MGH Ep. 7, Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5), Berlin 1912–28, repr. Göttingen 1988, pp. 191–193.

16. The translation of the Latin version was made by J. BEKKER, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (MGH Ep. 7, Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5), Berlin 1912–28, repr. Göttingen 1988, pp. 191–193.

17. *De ecclesiastica historia*, ed. J. BEKKER, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (MGH Ep. 7, Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5), Berlin 1912–28, repr. Göttingen 1988, pp. 191–193.

the account in Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical history*: "[Sozomen] relates many things about the race, its origins and name and that they are circumcised at the age of 13."¹⁰ We find the same identification of Saracens and Ishmaelites in John of Damascus' work *On heresies*, where he describes Islam as "the superstition of the Ishmaelites, which foretold the coming of the Antichrist."¹¹ Theophanes and John of Damascus shared a common source in Theodore Lector's history which went down to 518, although Theophanes only knew it in an abbreviated form.¹² It is perhaps from Theodore Lector that John of Damascus took his spurious etymology of the name of Saracens in *De haeresibus*, where he discusses the Ishmaelites, also called Agarenes: "They are also called Saracens, which is derived from *Sara*, *kenot*, or destitute of Sara, because of what Agar [the mother of Ishmael] said to the angel: 'Sara hath sent me away destitute.'"¹³ This spurious etymology is also found in Anastasius' version of the *Opuscula historica* of Nicephorus, which provided a short history of the Arab uprising after the death of the Persian king Chosroes (628):¹⁴

It was then that the Saraceni began their desolation of the world in the year 6126, indiction 2965 (AD 633/4). Constantine, his [sc. Heraclius'] son, was killed in his 29th year in Sicily (AD 668), under him a large part of the Empire was destroyed by Saraceni. Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, ruled for 17 years, under whom Byzantium was laid waste by Saraceni. In his 13th year the sixth synod was held at Constantinople [680–1]. And he acted manfully against the Saraceni, forcing them away from the power they held against the Romans, and crushing down many of them.

QUALITY OF ANASTASIUS' TRANSLATION

While Anastasius' version is an often inconsistent rendition of the Greek, it was based on an older and more reliable version of Theophanes' *Chronographia* than now survives, as noted by de Boor.¹⁵ Anastasius made a very literal translation, albeit with some errors, and excerpted Theophanes' text as he saw fit. For this reason, it has been useful in some places for establishing the original text where the direct transmission offers a *depressed* version.¹⁶ Interestingly for our purposes, Anastasius translated Theophanes in full for the period regarding Muhammad's life and death (AD 629/30 = AM 6122), and his immediate successors Abu Bakr (AD 630–2) and Umar, up to his ninth year

(AD 641/2), and subsequent military engagements with the Arabs, right up to the end of Theophanes' *Chronicle*.¹⁷ The early chapters cover the defection of Arab Christians to their Muslim "fellow-tribesmen" (AD 630/1); the fall of Hama and Gaza, and the entry into Palestine (AD 631/2); the fall of the Syrian cities of Bostra, Emesa and Damascus and the Arab entry into Egypt (AD 632/3–633/4); the fall of Jerusalem (AD 634/5) and Antioch (AD 636/7); of Edessa and "all of Mesopotamia" (AD 637/8); the fall of Persia (AD 638/9); and the fall of Caesarea in Palestine (AD 640/1 = AM 6133). They also related the ups and downs of the Heraclian dynasty after the death of Heraclius; the senate's rejection of Heraclonas and Martina from the imperial throne, and the subsequent elevation of Constans II (AD 640/1).

One discrepancy from fact in Theophanes' account, faithfully followed by Anastasius, concerns the manner and date of Muhammad's death. According to Theophanes, the prophet's death occurred in AM 6122 (= AD 629/30), after ten misguided Jewish leaders had joined him, thinking he was the Messiah.¹⁸

Those [Jews] who did so were ten in number, and they remained with him until the eating [2 MSS; the rest read, like Anastasius: until his murder]. But when they saw him eating camel meat, they realized that he was not the one they thought him to be, and were at a loss what to do; being afraid to abjure his religion, those wretched men taught him illicit things directed against us, Christians, and remained with him.

The Latin rendering "until his murder" (*usque ad eandem eius*) was probably based on a scribal error in the Greek.¹⁹ The "act of eating," if that is the true reading, must refer to Muhammad eating camel meat, a food proscribed for Jews in the Torah (Deut. 14:7).

In Theophanes' next entry, that for 630/1, Abu Bakr is recorded as the new Arab leader, having replaced Muhammad "who had died earlier."²⁰ In fact he did not die until two years later, in 632.

GREEK AND LATIN MANUSCRIPT TRADITIONS

As well as being unique in the western tradition, Anastasius' translation is important because it was a very literal translation based on Greek manuscripts earlier than those consulted by de Boor for his 1885 edition. De Boor concludes that the Latin can only be used with extreme caution in the restoration of the Greek text, and only where the Latin tradition is unanimous or allows for a "sure decision."²¹

21. AM 6122 to AM 6134. See B. NEU, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in *Christian-Muslim relations: a bibliographical history. 1, (600–900)*, ed. by D. Thomas and B. Roggema, Leiden – Boston 2004, pp. 786–90.

22. Theoph. AM 6122, p. 333; Masco – Scott, p. 460; see also p. 465 n. 2, on the variant Greek readings.

23. Masco – Scott, p. 465 n. 2, plausibly suggest that ἀφ' ὧς "murder" replaced ἐφ' ὧς "food; act of eating". The variant ἀφ' ὧς occurs in two manuscripts.

24. Masco – Scott, p. 466.

25. P. CHIESA, M. CUNICIA and A. GALLI, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. 2 = Medieval Latin text and their transmission*, a cura di P. Chiesa e L. Castaldi, Firenze 2005, p. 101.

10. Theoph. ad Theod. p. 102, ed. Masco – Scott, p. 99; cf. Theod. Lect., fr. 185, p. 69.6–17, and in the *opinions of Theodorus* (Scott).

11. *De haeresibus* in *John of Damascus: 1. Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica*, besorg von H. Rabe, Patristische Texte und Studien 22, Berlin 1981, 100, p. 60, 1–2.

12. See *De haeresibus*, the chapter by B. Pothmann, where he discusses the problems associated with the use of Theodorus' text.

13. *De haeresibus*, in *John of Damascus: 1. Liber de haeresibus*, p. 60, 1–2. St. John of Damascus, *Writings*, ed. by J. L. Oulton, *The Fathers of the Church* 17, Washington D.C. 1958, p. 153.

14. *Anastasius: de rebus et personis Saracenorum et de desolatione 6126 anno, indictionis 2965*, in *Anastasius: de rebus et personis Saracenorum et de desolatione 6126 anno, indictionis 2965*, ed. by P. Masco, p. 101.

15. De Boor, *Die Chronographia des Theophanes*, p. 101.

16. De Boor, *Die Chronographia des Theophanes*, p. 101.

17. De Boor, *Die Chronographia des Theophanes*, p. 101.

18. De Boor, *Die Chronographia des Theophanes*, p. 101.

Dr Beza's edition of the Greek text was based primarily on two late manuscripts, *Lat. Aek.* 283 (16th c.) and *Vat. gr.* 154 (12th c.), both highly fragmentary as his main witnesses of his own show, but, according to him, preserving the best Greek tradition available.¹⁰ The other seven manuscripts derived from an inferior source to that used by Beza.¹¹ Mango and Scott observed that the text of Theophanes has numerous *supra* and *sub* additions, and drew attention to the existence of two early manuscripts from the fourteenth century, one of which was wrongly dated to the tenth or eleventh century in the *Index* (*Vat. gr.* 153), and the other an Oxford manuscript not used by him at all (Oxford Church. *Wald. 5*).¹²

The most interesting of de Boer's Greek manuscripts, from my point of view, is *Par. 8M* (no. 133), a twelfth-century manuscript containing parts of the *Chronographicon* of Theophanes, and of Synkellus' *Ecloga chronographica*. The "numerous gaps" in this manuscript of Theophanes after 836 correspond to Anastasius' comment in his *Prologus* to John the Librarian that "[I] left out a few things from the civil record generally, although from Emperor Heraclius and from the beginning [I] omitted a few things from the records of these chronicles." From my own comparison with the Greek text, Anastasius omitted about one-half of the contents from 837 to 865. The only rationale in terms of content is that he favoured religious over secular events, in keeping with John's request for an ecclesiastical history. I have not yet consulted the Coislin manuscript, but it is possible that it shares a common Greek source with Anastasius' *CT*, which parallels its *material and dating system Par. 8M* 1-10. De Boer lists the gaps in the Greek text as compared with the Anastasian translation, noting, for example, a lacuna of several years which is not reflected in Anastasius'. Another example is *act* 60/30, or the 11th year of Heraclius, or the coronation of Hagar Sophia, a gap in the Greek text which is translated by Anastasius.

The Boer used three Latin manuscripts for his edition of Anastasius' version.⁸ The oldest surviving witness is *Vat. pal. 826* (13th c.),⁹ Cassinensis 6 can be precisely dated to the library of Desiderius at the monastery of Montecassino (1058–86); the third,

Var. Pal. 909, thought to have been produced in either Naples or Benevento,²⁶ was produced between 976 and 1025. According to Brown, *Var. pal. 909* is the only surviving copy of the *Historia miscella* of Landolf Sagax, who copied Anastasius to the letter in the second part of his continuation of Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*,²⁷ and is probably the idiograph.²⁸

De Boer used *Castiglione* 6 as the basis of his Latin edition, even though it suffered from later corrections from a reader whose improvements were "often totally arbitrary and rarely successful."¹⁷ He preferred it over the earliest manuscripts, since *Vat. Pal.* 826 was vitiated by numerous scribal errors. He also mentioned several others that he did not consult, but that were used by Fabrot in his seventeenth-century *editio princeps*:¹⁸ (4) *Vat. Lat.* 2013; (5) *Paris*, BN 5091 once owned by Jacob Augustus de Thou; and (6) *Paris*, BN 5092 once owned by D. Charles de Monchal, archbishop of Toulouse.¹⁹ Two fragments of the text were discovered by Virginia Brown in the 1990s.²⁰

The fragments can be dispensed with fairly quickly. Both are written in Beneventan script, a testimony to their production in the vicinity of the duchy of Benevento (southern Italy) and are copied by the same hand. The Alamura fragment (*Alamura Archivio Biblioteca Museo Civico fondo Sabini*, perg. 1^v) is largely illegible, in spite of (or because of) heavy restoration, and was cut at the corners to make a cover for another volume.⁴¹ The Alamura manuscript conveys a fragment of Anastasius' translation for the years 626-7, which recounts Heraclius' joyful return to Constantinople, having made peace with the Persians after six years of warfare.⁴² The Alamura fragment states: "At this time Moamed, leader of the Arabs, that is, the Saracens, living under the Persians, was in his 6th year out of a total of 9."⁴³

The second fragment, *Matera Archivio Diocesano*, fr. 9, fol. 1^r, provides a better reading. The Matera fragment is twice as long (a *bifolium*), and was preserved as the cover of a volume of records for 1551. It transmits a copy of Anastasius' translation of the *Chronographia* for the years 804–7 and 809–10.²² These passages recount Nicephorus' payment of substantial tribute to contain the Arabs in the East, and Nicephorus' imposition

34. V. Bruwen, 'The *Chronographia tripartita* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius: new fragments in Beneventan script at Altamura and Matera', *Alamana* 35, 1993, pp. 132–40, at p. 133 n. 9, cites the arguments for preferring Naples or Benevento.

35. *Landolfi Sagaci Historia Romana*, a cura di A. Crivellucci (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 49), Roma 1912.

36. CUFESS – CUFICUS – CULU, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (quoted n. 25), p. 102.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

38. *Anastasio Bibbicherius Historia ecclesiastica sive chronographia tripartita*, accedunt notae C. A. Fabrii [Fabron], Parisiis 1649; see De Boor, *Theophani Chronographia*, vol. 2, pp. 423–5, who judged that both codices from the *Bibliothèque nationale* had been emended from older manuscripts (*sic fides eorum librorum emendata*).

39. Both notations of provenance were made in Fabroni's preface, reprinted in BEXLER, *Monasterii Helveticoeuropei historiae ecclesiasticae* (quoted n. 7), pp. 3-4.

40. BROWN, *The Chironomidae niperris* (quoted n. 35), pp. 132-7.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 134, with a plate showing the mutilated fragment on p. 135; *Altamira. Artefactos Paleolíticos Museo Cienca fondo Sabini*, perg. 1'.

11. *Annals*, p. 305.

13. Theoph. vii 6419, p. 327; Masada - Scott, p. 457.

19. K. A. Krasovskiy, *ibid.*, 321-3.

19. The distance to *Alouatta palliata*, which locates *Var. Barb.* 553 (10⁴ c.) and 554 (10⁴ c.) as branches of a common source, one that was parallel to the unknown source.

11. *Monocotyledonae* (see also p. 100). The following are included in the rest:

manuscript by J. E. Rose. *Annals and MS of Devonshire*, 1871, p. 112 f.

[illegible][illegible]

of medieval texts on Byzantine citizens in 807–10.⁸⁵ On the basis of paleographical evidence and guided by Loom's work on the Beneventan script,⁸⁶ Brown believes that both the *Almonia* and *Matera* fragments date to the tenth or eleventh century, thus leaving them up to a century later than Cameron's (ca. 1045).⁸⁷ While the content of the fragments adds nothing to our knowledge of the Latin tradition, their existence does indicate a wider dissemination of Anastasius' version in Byzantine Italy than the incomplete manuscript would suggest.

SCIENCE AND POPE IN THE MID-SIXTH CENTURY

Apart from his correspondence on the Saracen invasion of southern Italy, mentioned above, there is also some evidence that Anastasius had independent knowledge of early Islam in one of his translations from Greek, the monothelite dossier known as the *Collationes*. The Saracen conquests of the eastern Byzantine territories and North Africa in the 630s and 640s are mentioned in two documents of this dossier. First, in the *Relatio monothetica* recorded the end of Maximus the Confessor in 656, John the former archbishop of Pavia the Patriarch was adduced as an accuser. John alleged that Maximus had advised Pava the Patriarch, when he was general of Numidia, not to follow Emperor Heraclius' command to lead an army against the Saracens in Egypt in 633.⁸⁸ There is no other evidence for these events apart from this allegation. The Byzantine concern with the Saracen threat which several charges brought against Pope Martin I (649–53), in his exile in Constantinople in the early 650s, namely that he had supplied money and a *foedus* to the Saracens, and had written letters to them in an attempt to conspire against the emperor.⁸⁹

A third source of information for Anastasius was the Roman *Liber pontificalis*. In the form whose first redaction dates to the early sixth century, the anonymous author of the entry on Martin I (649–53) relates that when Olympius, the Byzantine exarch of Sicily, had made peace with Pope Martin, he murdered the pope and set out for Sicily against

the Saracen people who were living there, and the Roman army suffered destruction there.⁹⁰ Only in the *Liber pontificalis* do we find Olympius taking an army to Sicily against the resident Saracens. Stratos has noted that there is absolutely no evidence for an Arab settlement in Sicily in 652, or even an Arab raid on Sicily at this time.⁹¹ The two-year peace treaty signed with the Arab caliph in 651–3 makes an attack during this period highly unlikely.⁹² While this excursion may not have occurred – not at this time at least – it is doubtful that Anastasius was aware of the fact.

CONCLUSION

Anastasius' translation of the *Historia tripartita* included three annalistic histories, of which the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was the most significant and detailed element. This excursus on the context, quality and transmission of Anastasius' translation of Theophanes' *Chronicle* has not yielded any new insights into Theophanes' text. It is perhaps significant that Anastasius translated the Greek text in full from the year 565, rather than excerpting it, but not too much can be made of that point alone. Anastasius gives no hint of other motives than the one he states in his preface to John the Deacon: to oblige his request for assistance in the compilation of an ecclesiastical history. Anastasius' independent knowledge of Islam was sketchy, and informed by unreliable sources such as the *Collationes* and the *Liber pontificalis*, supplemented by first-hand experience of Saracen incursions in Rome. This text was most useful in preserving a version of Theophanes for the West that could be taken up in the twelfth century by Peter the Venerable of Cluny. It was only then that the real significance of the text for western perceptions of early Islam began.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., pp. 138–9. Brown also mentions several Beneventan and non-Beneventan manuscripts which are known to contain full versions of the *Chronographia* (London, British Library, Burney 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁸⁶ L. Brown, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Unico* (Oxford, 1996).
⁸⁷ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–9. Brown also mentions several Beneventan and non-Beneventan manuscripts which are known to contain full versions of the *Chronographia* (London, British Library, Burney 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁸⁸ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–9. Brown also mentions several Beneventan and non-Beneventan manuscripts which are known to contain full versions of the *Chronographia* (London, British Library, Burney 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993

by Juan SIGNES CODONER

1. CONSTANTINE VII AND THEOPHANES

In 1994, Paul Speck published a detailed investigation of the authorship of the chronicle of Theophanes. He concluded that the text was not written by the famous iconodule saint but by a younger contemporary, a "second" Theophanes who managed to survive until late in the ninth century and was directly related to the empress Zoe Karbonopsina, the fourth wife of Leo VI and mother of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.¹ Most of Speck's conclusions were highly speculative and interdependent on each other. His analysis was, in fact, a chain of unwarranted hypotheses. The reactions were, not surprisingly, negative. In a detailed study in 1996, Ralph-Johannes Lilie already detected the major inconsistencies of Speck's arguments,² while a short footnote in the book of Mango and Scott on Theophanes published a year later dispatched Speck's thesis in a few words: "We are reluctant to admit this intriguing theory, which necessitates a good deal of unprovable speculation."³ Recently Panayotis Yannopoulos has also dealt with the topic to refute Speck's arguments.⁴

This will be the aim of the present paper. A reconsideration of the available evidence is worthwhile insofar as many of the problems that triggered Speck's arguments remain unsolved. In particular, the kind of kinship that linked Theophanes to Constantine VII is still awaiting some explanation, as is the silence of contemporary sources (including Photius) about Theophanes' literary background and his own work. The study by Filippo Ronconi in this volume, which dates the oldest manuscript preserving the version with the chronological rubrics at the end of the ninth or even the very beginning of the tenth century, makes a new start to this issue more urgent than ever.

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1. P. SPECK, *Der "zweite" Theophanes: eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes*, in *Varia*, 5 (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 13), Bonn 1994, pp. 431–83.

2. R.-J. LILIE, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI. (780–802)* (Berliner byzantinische Studien 2), Frankfurt am Main 1996, esp. pp. 378–422.

3. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. xlii–lxii.

4. P. YANNOPOULOS, *Theophane de Sigriani, le Confesseur (795–818)*, Bruxelles 2014, pp. 215–22.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 159–76.

It is convenient to reassess the evidence by taking a fresh look at the sources. To begin with there are several unrelated texts that refer to the kinship between the emperor Constantine VII and Saint Theophanes. One of these is the history of the emperor Constantine VII and Saint Theophanes, which was written by an anonymous author by order of the emperor Constantine VII himself. The title of the history as reconstructed from the damaged text preserved in the only surviving manuscript, refers to the kinship between the saint and the emperor in a very general and imprecise way:

Χρησιμοποιήσαμε συγγραφέα ἐκ προστάξεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ
 ἀγαποκρίνου δεσποτοῦ ἡμῶν, υἱοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ σοφιστάτου δεσποτοῦ καὶ
 ἀγαποκρίνου γυναικὸς, ἀρχομένη ἐνθεν κατέληξεν ὅ κατὰ γένος προσηύκειτο
 τοῦδε καὶ συκατίζης ἐκείνης ὡς τῆς Σιγριανῆς.

It should be noted by order of Constantine, our Christ-loving lord born in the purple, son of our most noble and glorious Emperor Leo, beginning where the blessed Theophanes of Nicaea, related by him to the emperor, left off.

This lack of precision does not actually imply ignorance of the exact links between *Thopland* and *Consuetudo*, for they are more precisely indicated in the ensuing prologue:

Ἡ ἐκδοτικὴ ποιοτήτης αὐτῆς εἶναι νομισθεὶς τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρίστην. τὴν τῷ μακαρίτῳ
ἐκδοτικῷ γράμματι ἐν καταστάσει ὅν κατὰ συγγενεῖαν καὶ ἀγχιστείαν τὸ εἶναι νόμιμος
ἀποδοῦν ἀποκαταστάσει αὐτὰ τῶν σὺν ἀκτινῶς καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνειν εὐθὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τινα
ἐκδοτικόν.

And you stand at the far beginning of this history the closing point in the work of the Great Theophrastus, whose grandchild you are by consanguinity and kinship, honouring him through your work and in turn receiving from him a certain renown.

However, it is clear that Constantine, who was born in 905, could not be a grandson of Theophanes who died in 818. This observation led Jacques Goar to conjecture a lacuna after ἐκείνῳ. This he filled with several lines of Greek text, in which Constantine VII was made grandson of Basil, not of Theophanes. Certainly, it would make more sense if Constantine related to his grandfather Basil at this point, but as there is no sign of a lacuna here it would be risky to base any argumentation on this. Accordingly, *editio atheniensis* has rightly rejected Goar's addition but no valid alternative has been put forward so far. Speck too has once conjectured that τὸ εἶναι υἱὸν τοῦ λαζάρου was *omitted*,¹⁰ whereas Soudain, without wholly excluding interpolation or lacuna,

¹ *Journal of American Studies*, 32 (1998), 1, with the intervention by J. Nix, *ibid.*, 32 (1998), 2. The title of and preface to *Corpus humanum* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 77–93, upheld in the *Journal of American Studies*, 33 (1999), 1, and *ibid.*, 33 (1999), 2, and preparing for the *Corpus humanum* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 1–2.

hesitatingly concluded "that the author of the Preface may have had no precise knowledge of the nature of the relationship between his imperial patron and Theophanes."⁷ What strikes the reader, however, is that Constantine should present himself as his grandfather's grandson *κατὰ συγγένειαν καὶ ἀγγιστίαν*, literally, "by consanguinity and kinship by engagement."⁸ This unusual precision, whatever its precise meaning, may not be superfluous and would perhaps make better sense if the author intended to use the term "grandson" (*οἰωνός*) in the broader sense of "descendant."

A tenth-century didyramb to honour Theophanes attributed to a certain Theodoros *protosekretis* (BHG 1792), preserved in the *Monac. gr.* 3, fol. 8^v-13^v, is also relevant for our argument here. In the closing paragraph, Theophanes is addressed in the second person. There, an unnamed emperor is said to "be proud of your kinship" (*γίνοιτο τῷ σὺ σπινύμενος*) and even "exult in it much more than in imperial honours that bring splendour" (*μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λαμπροσπορίαις ἐπιχονόμενος*). The emperor honours the saint with choruses, lamps and icons, becoming "the leader of your festivity" (*τὸν τῆς σῆς πανηγύρεως ἑξαρχόν*).¹¹ The author of the text must be identified with Theodoros Daphnopates, a well-known intellectual, close to Romanos I and Constantine VII, who was also *protosekretis*.¹² Given that there is also no doubt, as Krumbacher already argued, that the emperor mentioned in the poem is Constantine VII, the didyramb confirms the official version of the kinship between Constantine and Theophanes.¹³

But the crucial indication about the kinship between the emperor and Theophanes is provided by a third work composed during the reign of Constantine VII, the so-called *De administrando imperio*. After copying some passages on the Arabs from the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, the compiler concludes in the following way:

ἕως ὧδε ἐκαινόνισεν τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀράβων ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Θεοφάνης, ὁ τὴν μονὴν συστήσας τοῦ καλουμένου μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, μητρόθεος τυγχάνων τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ

9. Ševčenko, The tale (quoted n. 5), p. 90.

10. That ἀγγιστεῖν could be understood as 'kinship by engagement' at this time is supported by *Procheiron* 7.7, ed. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, Heidelberg 1837 = *Fragge* 17.7, ed. Leipzig 1852, where it is defined as follows: ἀγγιστεῖν δὲ ἐστὶν νύμφητος προσάγειν ἐν γυναιὶ ἡνὶ ἐσθμυμένῳ ἐγγυεῖσιος ἑκτός. The term, however, has been differently interpreted at different times, as a swift perusal of the old Attic dictionaries makes immediately evident.

11. Edited by K. KROMBACHER, Ein Didyrambus auf den Christen Theophrast, Sitzungsbereiche der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München 1896. Heft 4. München 1897, pp. 583-625, esp. 617-8.

12. The identification escaped Krukowski. For *Dithyrambus* (quoted n. 11). For a biography of Daphinopates see *PublZ* #27694, which does not include a complete list of his works. See however H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* München 1959, p. 552; Theodora Daphinopates, *Correspondance*, éd. et trad. par J. Darroulès et L. G. Westerink, Paris 1978, pp. 2-5; W. Bulthmann et al., *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, Turin/Genève 1991, s.v. "Daphinopates (Théodora)."

1991, s.v. "Daphnopates (Théodote)."

πορταίου και ἡγεῖται βασιλείας ἑγγίνου δὲ βασιλείου, τοῦ ἐν μακρυῇ τῇ μνήμῃ
 περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.¹¹

By so this part of the history of the Arabs is set in order chronologically by St. Theophanes, who founded the monastery of the so-called Megas Agros and was uncle on the mother's side of the great and pious and most Christian emperor Constantine, son of Leo, the most wise and victorious emperor, and grandson of Basil, of blessed memory for his tenure of the empire of the Romans.

For the first time, Theophanes is presented here as the emperor's maternal uncle (uncle-by-mother). Surely, the term is again used in a broad sense, for Theophanes could not have been an uncle of Constantine VII. But the text indicates now that the kinship between Constantine and Theophanes was through his mother, Zoe Karbonopsina. In so doing in the origins of Basil the Macedonian refers to a link with Theophanes, as it would otherwise have been mentioned in the *Vita Basilii*, where the author takes great pains to provide Basil with a convenient ascendancy.

2. THE ANCESTORS OF ZOE KARBONCHENKO

But can we find anything more specific in Zoe's life that would connect her with the family of Theophrastus? Unfortunately, the sources are absolutely silent on this point, as we do not even know the family name of Zoe, just her sobriquet, "the one with black-coal eyes." That is particularly frustrating, for we are informed about the importance of Zoe's family (*itis* being one of the reasons for being chosen as Leo's fourth wife!) and can imagine that it is precisely because her family was so well known that the contemporaries did not bother mentioning it.

In fact, when the Continuator of Theophanes refers to a certain Photēinos, strategos of the Anatolikes at the time of Michael II of Amorion (820–9), he remarks that this man was the "great grandfather" of Zoë:

Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τὸν καταπαθόμενον φανεῖται, πρῶτον μὲν Ζωῆς τῆς ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει φανεῖται. Ἀνακύπτει συζητοῦσα, στρωτηροῦντα δὲ τὴν ἐκκοῦτα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, αἱ τοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ὁρῶντες διακρίαν πρὸς βόλιν, λέτω."

All around the centre, the incarnation of *Cicero* to the protopatriarch *Photinus*, the great-grandfather of the Gauls, named *Augusta Zoa* of prime memory, who was then general of the Gauls.

Thus, the Constantine was so well informed about Zoe's lineage that he could trace it back at least three generations. Unfortunately, no further precision is given about the marriage and the possible kinship with Theophanes, who was his contemporary.

of various high-ranking Byzantine and Italian officials, including the emperor's chamberlain, Leo VI, mention is also made of the emperor's brothers and relatives of Zoe. Flammarius, drungary of the fleet, and the eunuch, Theodorus, both of whom apparently carried pressure for Zoe's union with

the emperor to be canonically accepted.¹⁷ As proof of Zoe's influence, in the same *Life of Euthymius*, Zoe tells the newly appointed patriarch Nicholas that he was elected only because this was her will.¹⁸

Another relative of Zoe could have been Leo Choirosphaktes, which may explain the latter's ascent at the Court during the reign of Leo VI. But, alternatively, the family of Choirosphaktes' wife may have played a role, for he says that she was also related to the emperor's relatives.¹⁹ In fact, Choirosphaktes' first services to Leo VI date from 896, when he was ambassador at the court of King Symeon and was imprisoned in Bulgaria, that is, well before Leo VI started his liaison with Zoe Karbonopsina in 903.²⁰ This has led scholars to believe that Choirosphaktes was related to Leo's second wife Zoe Zaurizina.²¹

At any rate, Zoe belonged to a very powerful and influential family, this being perhaps one of the reasons the emperor chose her as a partner and good candidate for marriage, since by doing so he perhaps hoped to assuage any possible objection to her promotion as empress.²² But what about the family of Theophanes himself? If he had been an ancestor of Zoe, this may mean that Theophanes' family could also have been of some means. And this is in fact the image that the existent *Life* of the saint have transmitted to us. In fact, through these *Life*s we are informed that his father Isaak was favoured by the emperor Constantine V and was appointed drugary of the Aegean fleet, the same post held by the above-mentioned Himerius, the relative of Zoe.²³ The emperor held Isaak in such high regard that he turned his Christian name into a family name so that his son, baptized Theophanes, received the patronymic "Isaakios" as his family name, as patriarch Methodius tells us in the biography of the saint.²⁴ Unfortunately, we do

17. *Vita Euthymii patriarchae* Gr. text, introd. and commentary by P. Karlin-Mayer (Bibliothèque de Byzantion 3), Bruxelles 1970, here p. 109,24–3; *ὁ πάλαι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ποτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου τοῦ τε ἱερῆου τοῦ κατ' ἀκρίαν καταρθὸν ἀπογραφίαν τῶν πλῶμων, καὶ Νικολαίου πατριάρχου, ἡμιοτέρων πατριῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆς Ζωῆς, τῆς Κορβανόφιδος φημι, οὗτοι τὸ ὀρθότερον ἐξιστῆν καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα κατ' ἀκρίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναγορεύειν ἐπερώτων.* In a further fragment of the same work, Euthymios is presented as being married to Zoe's sister, see B. Lausne, *Un fragment inédit de la vie d'Euthyme le patriarche*, *TSM* 9, 1985, pp. 111–31, here p. 129,98–9.

18. *Vita Europaei*, 111.14-22.

19. This "double marriage," which linked Choerosphaktes with the imperial family, is adduced by Choerosphaktes himself during his exile at the end of the reign of Leo VI in order to move the emperor to recall him from exile. The exact words used by Choerosphaktes when addressing the emperor are $\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\pi\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\ \tau\circ\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, see G. KOTIAS, *León Choerosphaktès : magister, praefectus et patrice*, Athen 1939, letter 32, lines 29 ff. Moreover, the Arab historian Tabari presents Choerosphaktes as the uncle of Constantine VII, see KOTIAS, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

30. See KOLIAS, *Léon Chourosphactès* (quoted n. 19), pp. 28-47.

21. *PublZ* #28506, pp. 760-1.

22. For the dependence of Leo VI on the noble families of the Constantinopolitan senate, which ultimately approved his fourth marriage, see now G. STRASSO, *Potere imperiale e papi aristocratici a Bisanzio durante il regno di Leone VI*, *Bizantinistica* 4, 2002, pp. 81–99. An overview of Zoe's family, as discussed here, is to be found in Ch. STRASSO, Les réseaux familiaux dans l'aristocratie byzantine – quelques exemples du vi^e au xi^e siècle, in *Les réseaux familiaux : Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, éd. par B. CROUIN (MIM 37), Paris 2002, pp. 287–306, here 303.

23. *Prunella* #3471.

[illegible]

not know what the original family name could have been. It is not assured, either, that "Isaakios" was used by other relatives of Theophanes as a family name and thus passed on to later generations. In fact, I have not been able to find "Isaakios" used as a family name anywhere in the ninth or tenth centuries,²⁶ the form with the ending -ιος being regularly used as a Christian name.²⁷

In any case, the father's wealth certainly passed to the son. Again, according to the testimony of the *Life of Theophanes* written by Methodius, after the saint left the capital and the Princes' Islands, he established himself in the monastery of Polichnion, in Sigriane (Bithynia), which was a *proteision* of his, that is, his own property or the property of his family. Later he settled on the island of Kalonymos facing the coast at Sigriane, where again he owned a property that he had inherited from his father.²⁸ And when he finally decided to buy a property in Sigriane to found the monastery of Megas Agros, he claimed the rights of pre-emption as a neighbour. His relatives did not lend him the money this time, but he managed to get a loan with the help of some monks.²⁹ Undoubtedly, Theophanes' relatives had deeper roots in Bithynia as landowners.³⁰ The monastery of Sigriane was, significantly, founded on an estate neighbouring the lands of the family and it is to be assumed that the family continued to be connected with the monastery for generations.

3. LEO KATAKYLAS AND FAMILY ARCHIVES

It is against this background that a notice about a later resident at the Sigriane monastery becomes perhaps relevant. The notice is preserved in an address Constantine VII made to his son Romanus concerning a search for books that he made when he decided to compose a treatise on imperial expeditions. The passage deserves to be quoted *in extenso*:

ὅθεν πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἀνέρευνήσαντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπόμνησιν ἐναποκειμένην ἐν πόλει οὐκ εὗρισκοντες, ὥς καὶ μάλιστα ποτὲ περὶ τούτων ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ

²⁶ I have not found the name Isakios in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100. The name Isakios is also found in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100. The name Isakios is also found in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100.

²⁷ See, for example, *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100. The name Isakios is also found in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100.

²⁸ See, for example, *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100. The name Isakios is also found in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100.

²⁹ See, for example, *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100. The name Isakios is also found in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100.

³⁰ See, for example, *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100. The name Isakios is also found in the *Practicon* of John VI Kantakouzenos, ed. E. L. Rieu, *Practicon* (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-100.

καλουμένην Σιγριανὴν εὐρεῖν ἡδυνήθημεν, ἐν ᾗ λέειτο ὁ μάγιστρος, ὃς Κατάκυλλος ἦν ἐπώνυμον, τὸν μονήρην βίον ἡσπάσατο, οὗτος γὰρ ὁ μάγιστρος περὶ τούτων ἐγγράμμιος διέθετο ἐκ προστάξεως Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ σοφοῦ καὶ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, τοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοῦ πάππου· ἰδὲ, ἐπεὶ μουσικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀμέτοχος ὁ μάγιστρος ἦν, πολλὰ βάρβαρα τε καὶ σόλων τε καὶ ἀσυνταξίως ἡ τούτων συγγραφή παριέχεν, εἰ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεοσεβὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἦν τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς εἶδειν ὁ αὐτοῦ βίος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς, καὶ ἡ τούτου συγγραφή μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπισφαλῆς καὶ ἐπιλήψιμος, ὅμως ἐπαινετὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς τῷ θεοσεβῇ εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐνάρετον, ταύτην ἡμεῖς εὐρόντες παρημιλήμεθα τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἔχει σικῶς ἀμυδρῶς πρὸς τὰ πράγματα διεκτέλλασμεν, καὶ μὴδε τὸ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερόν τε καὶ πλησιέστερον πετηγόμεθα, ἔχουσιν, συνεγραψάμεθα σὺν τοῦ καταλαπεῖν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν.

Hence, having completed a great deal of research, yet finding no memorandum deposited in the palace, we were at last just able to discover one which dealt with these matters in the monastery called Sigriane, in which Leo the magistros, named Katakylas, had embraced the monastic life. For this magistros committed these things to writing by order of Leo the Christ-loving and most wise emperor of the Romans, our father and your grandfather, but since the magistros was unaccomplished in Hellenic letters, his book contains many barbarisms and solecisms and lapses of syntax, even though the man was devout and most desirous of the things of the spirit, as his life showed. But in that he did not partake of Hellenic learning, as we have said, his compilation was somewhat weak and misleading; nevertheless it was praiseworthy and accurate insofar as the man was pious and virtuous. Since we found this work composed in a negligent fashion, therefore, setting matters forth indistinctly as though in the footprints of a phantom, so to speak, and not even equalling a third part of that which we have conveyed for the sake of greater clarity and greater detail, we have written these things down for you in order to bequeath them as a memorandum and guide.

We are thus told that when Constantine searched for material for his book, he found a *ὑπόμνημα* of the magister Leo Katakylas at the monastery of Sigriane and that Katakylas had composed this treatise following a commission previously made to him by Leo VI. Constantine finds fault with the work for not being written in good Greek, but unfortunately says nothing more concrete about the person of Katakylas or even about his library, whether it was richly endowed or just served the emperor on this occasion. No single word is uttered about a possible connection of this Katakylas with the family of Theophanes or of Zoe.

This Leo Katakylas must, however, have been a person of some relevance. The *Life of Ignatius* informs us that he was γαμβρός of Patriarch Photius and as a drungary, this time of the watch, was the person responsible for prosecuting and banishing the partisans of Ignatius.³¹ That this relationship with Photius may have implications for the cultural

³⁰ *De cer.*, I, Appendix, pp. 436-7 = Const. VII, *Three orations*, text C, pp. 94, 24-26, 39 (the translation is by Haldon).

³¹ Nikeas David Paphlagon, *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, col. 569D. τούτων οὖν ὁσους ἐπιδραμοῖς καὶ μάστιγι πεῖθειν οὐκ εἶχε [i.e. Photius], τῷ ὡμοτάτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπαρισσώτῳ αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ προβιβασθεὶς τῷ βίῳ, λέων δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ καλούμενος Κατάκυλλος, τῆς βίβλου δρουντοῦς καὶ πικρῆς προβιβασθεὶς. The silence of Photius on Theophanes is puzzling, not only because he was a distant relative

the report of Theophanes was integrated into his chronicle well before the *DJF* was composed, and even George the Monk based a short reference to the Bulgarians on it.¹ For the point here is that apparently the same kind of sources were looked at by different persons in different periods, thus somehow connecting all of them. As we have seen, the *DJF* excerpted the passage from Theophanes in order to provide information about the origin of the Arab nation. Why, however, did the *DJF* fail to include Theophanes' report on the Bulgarians? There is no chapter dedicated to the Bulgarians in the *DJF*. Their absence in the *DJF* is especially remarkable, for in the 10th century the Bulgarians undoubtedly represented the most important foreign nation for Byzantium, once the Abbasid Caliphate had ceased to be a threat to the survival of the empire. We can only speculate about the reasons for this omission, which is probably related to the unfinished state of the *DJF* and the difficulty of obtaining some detailed and updated report on the empire of Samarra. But for our purpose here, it is again clear that Constantine VII could have known the ethnogeographic excursus on the Bulgarians of Theophanes and that, for whatever reason, he decided not to include it in the dossier of the *DJF* prepared by his father. Perhaps his search of the materials in the library of Leo Katkoilas, with his expertise in the Bulgar world, was also related with his purpose of filling the gaps of the dossier of the *DJF*.

In sum, we have seen that a first Karakoilas was related to the iconoclast emperor Michael II, and a second one named Leo, to the patriarch Phokios. This Leo was a rich landowner with many properties in the capital, but his retirement to the monastery of Sigrane may point to a special family link with the monastery. May it have been possible that the Karakoilas family was related to the family of Theophanes? In fact, Theophanes' family owned some estates in the area of Sigrane, and the first Karakoilas, the father of Michael II, seemed to have had supporters in the thema of Opsikion, where Sigrane belonged. If that were the case and Theophanes were somehow related to the Karakoilas, we could now conjecture a link between Zoe and the Karakoilas. All these conjectures, however, will remain hypothetical—our best source, the *Life of Euthymios*, is unfortunately silent about Zoe's origins—as long as no new evidence is available, such as the discovery of a connection of some branch of the manuscript tradition with the *Deceitful Jew*.

What is certain is that in *Zen's* manner in diffusing the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, as the famous miniature later was considered a member of her own family. As we saw, Theophanes' conversion was especially proof of his kinship with Theophanes. He inherited this sentiment from his mother. It certainly was a very remote relation, going back to the beginning of the sixth century, which may explain the vigourness of the allusions produced in the context of Constantine's time. But it could have been conveniently replaced by *Zen*, who passed her to *Zen's* mother and then as the empress responsible for the emperor's education must have been very difficult. It took some time before she was

recognised not only as mother of the Porphyrogenitus baby, but also as the legitimate wife of Leo VI. Far from being merely the concubine of the emperor, Zor was also a member of a powerful family able to put pressure on the emperor and on the patriarch Nicholas; the connection to the famous iconodule saint could thus contribute to promoting her image.

4. THE CHRONOLOGICAL RUBRICS AND THE *CHRONOGRAPHIA* OF NICEPHORUS

Beyond the inferences we made above regarding the links of Zoe with the famous confessor, there is evidence to suggest that it was during the reign of Leo VI that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes first became well known and diffused. In fact, the manuscripts *Christ Church Wake 5* and *Vaticanus Graecus 155*, two of the oldest testimonies of the chronicle of Theophanes, can be referred precisely to Leo's reign. The writing of the two manuscripts is very similar and they could have been copied at the same place, although Filippo Ronconi excludes in the present volume that they could have been written by the same hand. This hand was dated by Nigel Wilson thirty years ago "to the last two or three decades of the ninth century."⁴¹ The dating has not been questioned by later scholars so far and has been confirmed by Ronconi, who considers the early years of the tenth century to be equally acceptable. Accordingly, if both manuscripts were copied some time before the year 906, when Zoe was already Leo's mistress, they could have been conceived as a way of promoting Zoe's family by emphasizing her links to the famous chronicler and iconodule martyr.

To sustain this hypothesis it is worth considering the fact that, for the first time, these twin manuscripts contain the chronological rubrics. These rubrics were always thought to have been drawn up by Theophanes, thus contributing to his fame. However, the dating of the *Parisinus* gr. 1710 back into the middle of the ninth century, as proposed by Boris L. Fonkič¹⁷ and Filippo Ronconi,¹⁸ questions this supposition, for the rubrics are lacking in the *Parisinus*, exactly as in the virtually contemporary translation made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius during his stay in Constantinople or later in Rome. It appears now that the rubrics were added after 873–5 when Anastasius finished his translation. The chronological rubrics were therefore added at the time at which our twin manuscripts *Wake* 5 and *Utt*, gr. 155 were copied.

We can find an explanation for their addition in the fact that the new edition was intended to enhance the value of the chronicle. A very competent scholar was needed to produce the rubrics, perhaps a Melkite emigrant, if there is a connection with the chronological tables of Nicephorus, as suggested below. But it is not necessary to assume that he worked under imperial patronage. Ronconi has argued that the two manuscripts were produced for different clients, possibly of a different social status (Wak. 5 being more prestigious than Vat. gr. 155), but their striking chronological proximity speaks

16. N. Wilson, A manuscript of Theophrastus in Oxford, *DCP* 26, 1973, pp. 572-601.

15. B. A. Фоткин, О античности в пропеяхокенити Парикского епископа, Христианство и культура, *Христ. Прогр.* 1988, 1: 100, in *Исследования по истории христианства в России* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 1–9. See also R. Fetskie, Sulla datazione dei codici greci del 1388–1398, *Slav. Mus.* (Moscow) 1990, pp. 1–9. See also R. Fetskie, Sulla datazione dei codici greci del 1388–1398, *Slav. Mus.* (Moscow) 1990, pp. 1–9. See also R. Fetskie, Sulla datazione dei codici greci del 1388–1398, *Slav. Mus.* (Moscow) 1990, pp. 1–9.

16. See author's contribution in this volume.

the only aspect of Syncellus' "succinct chronicle" highlighted by Theophanes is precisely the fact that it consisted of chronological tables, and the word χρόνους ("dates") is used three times in the passage quoted above. Nothing is said, on the contrary, of the πράξεις, the deeds of emperors and patriarchs. Only the word πολιτείας, translated as "lives" by Mango and Scott, may refer to the contents of Syncellus' chronicle, but this is again far from describing the actual content of the work, certainly not a succession of biographies. Therefore, I suspect that the term refers in fact to the "governorship" of the emperors, that is, to their regnal years. At any rate, one sees a striking contrast with the words Theophanes uses for his own work, where, along with the χρόνοι (mentioned three times, but without any connection to the synchronisms), the πράξεις are also mentioned (four times). The whole passage is reproduced here again with the relevant terms in *italic*:

[...] τὰς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας καὶ τὰς τούτων πράξεις σὺν τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἄφ' ἐαυτῶν συντάξαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ιστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις τόποις καταχμεν ἐκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις, ἀσυχχῦτως κατατάττοντες ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ ἐκάστου βασιλέως ποῖα πράξεις γέγονεν, εἴτε πολερικὴ, εἴτε ἐκκλησιαστικὴ, εἴτε πολιτικὴ, εἴτε δημῳδῆς, εἴτε τις ἑτέρα, οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ὠφέλειον, ὡς οἴομαι, καρποῦνται τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς πράξεις ἀναγινώσκοντες.⁵⁸

[I] have written down accurately to the best of my ability [...] the reigns of the emperors and the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates. I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and have consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion. In this manner the readers will be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind; for I believe that one who reads the *actions* of the ancients derives no small benefit from so doing.⁵⁹

Were it not for the emphasis on "events" of every kind, the text would appear as a variation on Theophanes' description of Syncellus' work some lines before. It seems in fact to have been written to stress the differences with the chronography of Syncellus. This suggests that the βασιλείας of the beginning of the proem is a synonym to the χρονολογία, πολιτείας used above.

So did Theophanes imply that Syncellus composed a chronological table but not a chronicle, that is, the chronological frame for a chronicle but not the chronicle itself? In fact, the words used by Theophanes in the prologue, as noted by Mango and Scott, are "usually an accurate description of Syncellus' long and learned chronicle."⁶⁰ On the contrary, Theophanes' prologue accurately describes a chronological table, such as, for example, the tables of the regnal years of emperors, patriarchs and archbishops (including such synchronisms of events, exactly as indicated in the prologue!) that are preserved under the name of Theophanes and were published by Carl de Boor. Curiously enough, this work, usually referred to as the *Chronographia brevis*, is called χρονογραφία σύντομος (or

alternatively, χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον) in the manuscript tradition, exactly the title that is given by Theophanes for Syncellus' work in his prologue.⁶¹ The difference is that the chronicle of Syncellus apparently stopped at Diocletian, whereas the one attributed to Nicephorus continued until his own times; and, of course, that our "Syncellus" does not have any chronological table. But this does not exclude either that Syncellus could have established synchronisms between the reigns of emperors, patriarchs and other rulers (if we believe Theophanes' statement) or that this text may have been transmitted separately.

But has the *Chronographia brevis* actually been written by Nicephorus? De Boor apparently thought so, although he was perfectly aware that the present versions of the text are updated and suggested that a first publication only took place after the death of the patriarch. This should have been the version translated into Latin by Ananias Bibliothecarius.⁶² More recently, Mango also considered that the archetype of the work could have well been compiled by Nicephorus and published after his death. But he goes further and questions that Nicephorus was the author of the text, which might have been attributed to him by the person who found it among his papers.⁶³ Mango points out that some manuscripts do not attribute the work to Nicephorus for it appears anonymously. The fact that the edition of de Boor has not taken into account all the manuscripts of these tables⁶⁴ obviously makes a daring, not to speak of an attribution of the text, premature. But it does not support the authorship of Nicephorus either. Anyway, for our concern here, it is to be noted that many of the supposedly updated versions of the *Chronographia brevis* conclude the list of patriarchs and emperors with the reign of Leo VI. This circumstance implies a diffusion of the text at the same time at which we conjectured that the chronological rubrics were added to the original draft of Theophanes' chronicle.⁶⁵

On the other hand, the order in which the patriarchates are listed changes from one manuscript to the other and cannot be without relevance for establishing the milieu in which that copied or expanded these tables. Whereas Theophanes' prologue presents the bishops in the order Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, in the *Chronographia brevis* they are listed as Constantinople, Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch or, in other manuscripts, even Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch.⁶⁶ It is significant that Jerusalem is promoted to the third or first position in the manuscripts, thus pointing to an Oriental author of the text like George Syncellus, and, in any case, ruling out Nicephorus' authorship. De Boor took this circumstance into account, but as he considered Nicephorus to be the author of the first draft of these tables, he suggested that the original text was expanded in Jerusalem ca. 850.⁶⁷ He could thus

58. Niceph., *Chron.*

59. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

60. Introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 3.

61. See his introduction to Niceph., *Chron.*, pp. xli–xlii. New manuscripts, including Slavic versions, are listed by C. Mango, introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 3–4.

62. For example, the last emperor mentioned in some manuscripts is Basil I (867–86) and the last patriarch Stephen (886–93), the dates of whose reigns are accurately given. For Basilios see Niceph., *Chron.*, p. 101, lines 24–5: ἔτη α' μῆνας γ' ἡμέρας κθ'; and for Stephen *Ibid.*, p. 120, lines 16–17: ἔτη μῆνας η'. This would imply that the manuscript was copied during the patriarchate of Antony Koures (893–901).

63. Introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 4–5.

64. Niceph., *Chron.*, pp. xxxv, xxxvi.

regular and the chronological tables were compiled on their basis. Marek Jankowiak is also inclined to point out some discrepancies between the rubrics of Theophanes and the corresponding passages, but these could have easily appeared in the process of inserting the tables into the narrative frame of the chronicle, whose compiler was drawing chronological data taken from other sources.

1. Some suggestions

So far, I have tried to open new lines of research on the complex issue of the transmission of Theophanes, rather than to establish certainties, for many issues remain unresolved. Despite this caveat, I still consider it likely that a second edition of the chronicle of Theophanes, represented by *Christ Church Wake 5* and *Wat. gr. 155*, was sponsored by Leo Kalinopoulos and/or Leo VI at the time of their marriage or in the years preceding it. This new edition included the chronological rubrics based, among other works, on the tables probably composed by Syncellus, which until then circulated as separate works under the name of *Nephepboron*. It does not really matter for our argument whether these rubrics were originally present in the archetype of Theophanes, as Marek Jankowiak suggests in his volume (and that these two manuscripts preserved the original text faithfully, that the previous copies known to us), or, on the contrary, were inserted in a later stage as early as the end of the ninth century. Be it as it may, we do possess a first edition produced perhaps after the end of the iconoclast struggle and based on the original, which already contained a notation on the date of the Quinquagesima (that is preserved in all the manuscripts).¹ George the Monk may have already completed his first edition that was defined in the wake of the restoration of icon worship as Theophanes was one of his most famous martyrs.² A third and last edition could be dated to the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and was probably linked with the preparation and revision of the works of the emperor.³ Constantine, in fact, prepared a continuation of the chronicle of Theophanes that ended in 813; this task was entrusted to Euthymios and even to the anonymous author of the so-called Theophanes continuator. The emperor probably used Theophanes for his *excerpta historica*, although, curiously enough, none of the examples of him in the preserved volumes, whereas the later text of George the Monk is especially used for this historical encyclopaedia. A further puzzle is the dating.

¹ Cf. Pierre F. A. Yvernaudoux, *Les manuscrits historiques de la chronique de Théophane le Confesseur* (Paris 1971), pp. 141–142 and 81, who considers, not convincingly, that the chronicle was composed around 813. On the 'omnes' Theophanes quoted in 1.1, pp. 47–51, I am inclined to follow the view of the pope (Theophanes) copied at the wrong place in the text, p. 47.

² Yvernaudoux himself, who for his edition of Yvernaudoux argues in the above article and elsewhere that the chronicle of Theophanes ended in 813, was the actual editor of this first edition based on the manuscript *Christ Church Wake 5*, which is the basis of the edition of the chronicle of Theophanes by Yvernaudoux.

³ Cf. also the text of Theophanes quoted in 1.1, pp. 47–51, considers that manuscripts of the chronicle of Theophanes were used by Constantine VII. See also P. F. A. Yvernaudoux, *Theophanes le Confesseur*, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Groningen 2011), pp. 17–20.

THE CHRONICLE OF THEOPHANES IN THE INDIRECT TRADITION

by Federico MONTINARO

After the ancient writers, first George the monk, synkellos of the most holy patriarch Tarasios, then Theophanes the confessor, hegumenos of the monastery of Agios, excelled in summarizing history. These men carefully read through the history books, making a précis of them in simple, unaffected language, touching exclusively on the substance of the events which had taken place. George, however, began with the creation of the world and took his narrative down to the tyrants, Maximian, I mean, and his son. Theophanes took the other's conclusion as his starting point and setting out the subsequent chronology brought his race to an end with the death of the emperor Nikephoros, the ex-minister of finance. After him nobody devoted himself to a similar enterprise. There were indeed those who attempted to do so [...] but, because they took their task too lightly, they all failed to write with the requisite degree of accuracy. Many important events they omitted altogether and their works are of little value to posterity. [...] Nonetheless, I took great pleasure in reading the work of the abovementioned men and I hope that a synopsis will be of no small benefit to those who love history, especially to those who prefer that which is easily accessible to what has to be written for; a synopsis, that is, which will provide them with a brief overview of what has taken place at various times and thus free them of the need to consult massive tomes of memoirs.

The foreword to the *Synopsis of histories*, composed towards the end of the eleventh century by a senior official John Skylitzes, gives us a glimpse into the functional way the historian's work was conceived at the Komnenian Court.¹ Several generations of mid-Byzantine historians, whose names I have omitted, are virtuously blamed for their imprecisions (and opinions in writing of contemporary events), yet can be easily epitomized for the comfortable use of Skylitzes' audience. The *Chronicle* attributed to

¹ *Iohannis Skylitzae synopsis historiarum*, rec. I, Thurn (CFHB 5), Berlin – New York 1973, pp. 31–32. Engl. transl. John Skylitzes, *A synopsis of Byzantine history, 811–1057*, transl. by J. Wotke, introd. by J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin, and notes by J.-C. Cheynet, Cambridge 2010, pp. 1 ff., which I have modified in several details.

Theophanes the Confessor († 817 or 818) and that of George Synkellos, whose work Theophanes claims to be taking over in his preface, are Skylitzes' main model.¹

In fact, Skylitzes is misrepresenting slightly the scope of Theophanes' work. This document ended with the reign of Nikephoros I (802–11), but includes those of Staurakios (811) and Michael I (811–3). In a coherent way, an alternative account of the same two reigns and of that of Leo V (813–20) opens the *Synopsis*. It is tempting to believe that Theophanes' positive portrait of Leo V, written to all appearances before the official endorsement of iconoclasm by that emperor, was unacceptable for the later historian, and that decision necessitated the rewriting of the two short introductory reigns.¹ Theophanes' *Chronikē* was widely read in Byzantium and beyond. Besides the perhaps unimpressive number of mediaeval manuscripts that transmit it directly, many authors writing in different genres from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries reproduced and abridged it. Despite Skylitzes' celebration, they seldom credited its author.

Direct AND INDIRECT TRANSMISSION

The nineteenth-century editor of the *Chronicle*, Carl de Boor, distinguished two main branches in the manuscript tradition. The first and "better" one is only represented by two very fragmentary witnesses (12th-century *Vat. gr.* 154 and 16th-century *Vat. Barb.* 553). To the second and "worse" branch, characterised by numerous errors and interpolations, belong de Boor's other eight main witnesses (to which can now be added 10th-century *Cross. And. Chr. Wake* 8 and some insignificant fragments) as well as the lost model of Armenian/Latin translation (below). Several cases of mixed allegiance suggested to the German editor that the archetype of the entire tradition contained marginal annotations and corrections, which were copied arbitrarily by the scribes, while the nature of the interpolations in the lists of patriarchs, affecting especially the Eastern sees, led him to believe that an early copy of the *Chronicle* travelled to Palestine and was brought back to Constantinople, where it became the archetype of the "worse" branch. De Boor further assumed that the latter branch reached most later Byzantine readers, with the exception of George the Monk and Constantine VII.²

Dr. Bauer's retranslation has not remained entirely unchallenged. At the turn of the century and twentieth centuries, K. Praechter, S. Sestakov, and P. G. Preobraženskii pointed out independently the limitations of the editor's choice not to exploit commercially the untold tradition, particularly the unpublished section of a world document dated in 962, preserved in *Paris*, pp. 1712 and formerly attributed to Symeon

the Logothetes. This was proven by Praechter to be the intermediary between Theophanes and the eleventh-century historian Kedrenos.²

De Boor's attitude should be set against his immediate predecessor G. L. F. Tafel's excessive reliance on Kedrenos for reconstructing Theophanes' text in his sample edition.¹ De Boor himself had explained his choice in the philological foreword to his edition, dated 1883–5, as one of economy.² Nonetheless, he soon supplied minor amendments to his own text from a manuscript of the "original" Logothetes.³ In 1897, he drew attention to the excerptis from the *Chronicle* in a fourteenth-century witness to later Byzantine historians (*Vindob. hist. gr.* 37), commenting laconically: "Der Text ist nicht uninteressant, da er an einigen Stellen gegen die Handschriften mit der Übersetzung des Anastasius übereinstimmt. Leider sind die Exzerpte zum Teil so willkürlich und der Codex ist so unglaublich fiederlich geschrieben, daß wenig sichere Resultate zu gewinnen sind."⁴ De Boor's hesitation illustrates all too well the need to take a fresh look at the *Chronicle*'s indirect tradition.

THEOPHANES AND THE SO-CALLED *SCRIPTOR INCERTUS* DE LEONE ARMENIO

The early history of the reception of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is bound, in modern studies, to that of a renowned if in many respects still mysterious early ninth-century text. In 1936, I. Dujčev published a hitherto overlooked edifying tract on emperor

5. K. PRAECHTER, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Kedrenos* (Cod. Paris. gr. 1712) (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Klasse der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1897, 2, 1), München 1897; С. ШЕСТАКОВ, *Аноним cod. Paris. gr. 1712 в пределах хронографии Феодана*, *Ученые записки Императорского Константиновского Университета* 64, 1897, кал.-июль, кр. 1-38, июль-август, кр. 1-32; П. Г. ПРЕОБРАЖЕНСКИЙ, *Литературное наследие анонима Феодана Константиновского университета из области византийской историографии*, Вена 1912. The latter work is rightly dismissed for its bold conclusions by MANGO - SCOTT, pp. xcvi f., yet Preobraženskij's demonstration of the importance of *Paris. gr. 1712* for Theophanes' text retains some value. See also the comments of К. Н. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Очерки по истории иконоборческого движения в Византийской империи в VIII-IX вв.*, Феодан и его Хронография, IV, п.с., 3, 1950, pp. 393-438, and 4, 1951, pp. 211-62, at pp. 414 f.; А. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Η χρονογραφία του Ψευδοσυμεών και οι πηγές της*, Ιωάννινα 1978, pp. 111-41. Only the section of Pseudo-Symeon's chronicle for which the author is independent (AD 813-962) was published first by F. Combes, then in the Bonn corpus by I. Bekker and put under the name of Symeon Magister (Ps.-Syn.). A complete edition was announced by A. Markopoulos over thirty-five years ago and still is awaited.

6. G. L. F. TAFEL, *Theophanu Chronographia* (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1853), Wien 1853, pp. 21-122, covering Heraclius' reign. See de Boor in *Theoph.* 2, pp. 354-9.

7. Theoph. 2, p. 360; "Eine Benützung des in den jüngeren byzantinischen Chroniken [...] beherrschten Materials habe ich nur in geringem Umfange durchführen lassen. Eine sichere Handhabung desselben würde bessere Texte derselben erlauben und die vorliegende Lösung Ansätze zu wünschlicheren Fragen [...]. Dabei hätte es leicht geschehen können, dass die Ausgabe selbst unter Verarbeiten untergegangen wäre. Was ich an verschiedenen Punkten [...] angeht, erwies sich der Vortheil aus der Untersuchung als geringfügig."

3. C. de Beau, *La Chronik des Pseudo-Polydokes*, *BZ* 2, 1893, pp. 363-8, and pp. 361-7, and also *Mon. var. er.* 163, with W. Brasidas, *Review of Muson*, *Soc. et. BZ* 91, 1906, pp. 349-61, and p. 361.

9. Claude Batail, *Die Chronik der Logophoren*, *BZ* n. 189 (pp. 100-101), manuscript, see S. Wahlgren's introduction to *Sym. Log.* (pp. 107-108).

[illegible]

188. *Le Tableau des Époques de l'Histoire Naturelle*. Paris, 1880. 128 p. (Le Tableau des Époques de l'Histoire Naturelle, 1880, 128 p.)

* 1870. Das Leben und Wirken des byzantinischen Historiographen Theophanes, in ferner der Grenz-
berührung mit dem Westen. Berlin.

Georg. Mon., p. 776.23 f. and Sym. Log., p. 209.19; see the table below); (2) spanning, essentially, the period from 284 (rather than the creation) to 829; (3) relying almost entirely upon Theophanes, which it continued after 813. Treadgold goes as far as to speak of the compiler's style.²⁰

The representation of the *Epitome* requires revision. It is not methodologically sound, for example, to make it start with 284 based only on the alleged absence of parallels between George and Symeon before that date, for such parallels, although not numerous, do exist and were pointed out by de Boor in his edition of George's chronicle. The assertion that George "was well read if not well educated" appears contradictory too when almost all of George's sources, also featured in Symeon, are automatically ascribed to the anonymous compiler of the *Epitome*.²¹

The clear relationship between Theophanes and the mid-Byzantine historians can only be established after the publication of the complete Ps.-Symeon (above) as well as the so-called "B" redaction of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothetes. The "A"-text currently available in S. Wahlgren's edition goes down to 948 and was written after 959. The "B" text continues down and interpolates it to varying degrees.²² What can be stated at the present stage is that the evidence adduced so far is insufficient to suggest that an epitome of any kind was consistently involved in the transmission of Theophanes' text in the tenth century.

The origin of the allusive argument on the *Epitome* can be traced back to E. Patzig's 1992 dissertation on the reception of the lost historical work of John of Antioch.²³ In order to prove the existence of the *Epitome*, Patzig presented seven pieces of information about Prokos' reign listed in Patriarch Nikephoros' *Short history* and paralleled in George the Monk, Leo the Grammarian, Kedrenos, and Zonaras, but absent in Theophanes.²⁴ While not directly affected by the later editions of Nikephoros, George, and Symeon the Logothetes (Patzig's "Leo"), Patzig's argument presents obvious weaknesses, which have not been noted. The striking fact that Symeon reproduces none of the passages omitted by George and Kedrenos (none of those omitted by Symeon would rather point to a line of transmission from George through Symeon to Kedrenos). Furthermore, C. Mango has now demonstrated that Zonaras depended on Nikephoros, drawing information about events from the latter.²⁵ Patzig argued further that "Georg und Zonaras können die Erzählung vom Tode des Prokos unmöglich aus Nikephoros entlehnt haben, wenn die erste Geschichte des Prokos bei der Leoippe aus anderer Quelle stammt." This "source"

is represented by Patzig as a sequence of three fragments of John of Antioch, paralleled in George and Symeon, the last of which corresponds in content to the first of the seven pieces he had presented above. It makes little difference for the purposes of the present discussion whether we attribute the fragments in question to John of Antioch himself (with U. Roberto) or to a continuator writing in the seventh century (with S. Mariev).²⁶ In fact, the fragments as they stand in the excerpts collected under Constantine VII certainly are not the source of any of the later authors under study—in at least two instances the source, as Patzig, crucially, failed to notice, need not be other than Theophanes!²⁷ Once Patzig's argument against George's dependence on Nikephoros is dismissed, it becomes simpler to admit that the information passed from Nikephoros to George and from George to Symeon (see also below).²⁸

As for the later centuries, Treadgold and Wahlgren have stated their reasons to believe that Symeon did not depend on George, but on the latter's source. These are mainly three: there are no correspondences between George and Symeon after the reign of Michael II; Symeon includes (and is supposedly able to date correctly) events not mentioned or chronologically misplaced by George, as well as many passages derived from Theophanes that George omits; he echoes none of George's peculiar theological excursions.²⁹ These arguments, however, are undermined by a wider analysis of the reigns from Leo III to Leo V, which suggests to me a much simpler solution of the puzzle: Symeon read both Theophanes and George.³⁰

	Theoph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
Leo III	p. 391.3 pp. 401.29–402.7 pp. 390.20–4 and 391.6 ff.	p. 735.13 f. pp. 735.15–736.12 pp. 736.12–737.17	p. 180.2 (Theoph.) pp. 180.2–181.11 (Georg.) pp. 181.11–182.33 (Theoph.)

25. See *Iohannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex Historia chronica*, introd., ed. critica e trad. a cura di U. Roberto (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 154), Berlin – New York 2005, frs. 318–9 and 321, pp. 548–52, with the editor's introduction, p. xlii–xliv, also referring to an *Epitome* "realizzata tra la metà del VII e i secoli XI–XII" accounting, in his view, for the stylistic differences between the sixth-century core and the fragments pertaining to the seventh century in the *Excerpta de insidiis*. Contra S. MARIEV, *Notes zur "Johannischen Frage"*, BZ 99, 2006, pp. 535–49, at pp. 537–9; *Iohannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae superant omnia*, rec. Anglice venit indicibus instructa S. MARIEV (CFHB 47), Berlin – New York 2008, p. 9, holding the fragments to be spurious.

26. Compare Georg. Mon., p. 662.14–18 and Sym. Log., p. 153.3–7, with Theoph., pp. 289.26–290.3 (cf. John of Antioch, fr. 318.26 ff.); Georg. Mon., pp. 664.16–665.6, and Sym. Log., p. 155.26–31, with Theoph., pp. 266.25–297.2 (cf. fr. 319.8 ff.).

27. Compare Georg. Mon., pp. 665.14–666.13, and Sym. Log., p. 156.40–51, with Nikeph., *Brev.* § 1, p. 36.35–48 (cf. fr. 321.31–40). Zonaras' presentation of information found in frs. 319 and 321 is insufficient to prove the existence of a lost source.

28. See TREADGOLD, *The chronology accuracy* (quoted n. 18), pp. 108 f.; S. Wahlgren's introduction to Sym. Log., pp. 118 f.

29. This was already suggested by P. SAUVARRE, *De fontibus Zonarae quoniam selectae*, Lipsiae 1881, p. 17, who, however, did not offer a demonstration.

30. While following mainly George's wording, Symeon agrees with Theophanes that Justinian II proclaimed Leo spatharios and that Theodosius made him strategos of the East. According to George, the latter emperor both proclaimed Leo spatharios and abdicated in his favour, following the acclamation by the soldiers.

20. *Byzantine Middle Eastern History*, pp. 110–4 and n. 91.

21. *ibid.*, pp. 117 and 119, fn. 96–97.

22. See Wahlgren's introduction to Sym. Log., p. 75–76.

23. E. Patzig, *Iohannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex Historia chronica* (Jahresberichte der Thomasschule in Leipzig 1992), 2002. Patzig first withdrew some of his early conclusions (1992, p. 25, fn. 100; *ibid.* § 1, p. 16.35–48) with Georg. Mon., p. 662.14–18, Sym. Log., p. 153.26–31, and Zon., pp. 202.17–203.10; § 2, p. 38.10–42 with Georg. Mon., pp. 664.16–665.6, and Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 3, p. 40.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 4, p. 41.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 5, p. 42.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 6, p. 43.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 7, p. 44.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 8, p. 45.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 9, p. 46.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 10, p. 47.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 11, p. 48.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 12, p. 49.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 13, p. 50.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 14, p. 51.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 15, p. 52.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 16, p. 53.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 17, p. 54.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 18, p. 55.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 19, p. 56.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 20, p. 57.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 21, p. 58.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 22, p. 59.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 23, p. 60.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 24, p. 61.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 25, p. 62.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 26, p. 63.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 27, p. 64.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 28, p. 65.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 29, p. 66.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 30, p. 67.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 31, p. 68.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 32, p. 69.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 33, p. 70.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 34, p. 71.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 35, p. 72.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 36, p. 73.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 37, p. 74.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 38, p. 75.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 39, p. 76.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 40, p. 77.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 41, p. 78.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 42, p. 79.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 43, p. 80.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 44, p. 81.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 45, p. 82.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 46, p. 83.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 47, p. 84.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 48, p. 85.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 49, p. 86.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 50, p. 87.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 51, p. 88.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 52, p. 89.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 53, p. 90.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 54, p. 91.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 55, p. 92.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 56, p. 93.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 57, p. 94.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 58, p. 95.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 59, p. 96.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 60, p. 97.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 61, p. 98.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 62, p. 99.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 63, p. 100.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 64, p. 101.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 65, p. 102.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 66, p. 103.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 67, p. 104.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 68, p. 105.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 69, p. 106.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 70, p. 107.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 71, p. 108.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 72, p. 109.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 73, p. 110.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 74, p. 111.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 75, p. 112.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 76, p. 113.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 77, p. 114.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 78, p. 115.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 79, p. 116.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 80, p. 117.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 81, p. 118.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 82, p. 119.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 83, p. 120.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 84, p. 121.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 85, p. 122.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 86, p. 123.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 87, p. 124.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 88, p. 125.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 89, p. 126.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 90, p. 127.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 91, p. 128.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 92, p. 129.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 93, p. 130.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 94, p. 131.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 95, p. 132.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 96, p. 133.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 97, p. 134.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 98, p. 135.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 99, p. 136.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 100, p. 137.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 101, p. 138.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 102, p. 139.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 103, p. 140.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 104, p. 141.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 105, p. 142.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 106, p. 143.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 107, p. 144.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 108, p. 145.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 109, p. 146.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 110, p. 147.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 111, p. 148.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 112, p. 149.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 113, p. 150.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 114, p. 151.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 115, p. 152.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 116, p. 153.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 117, p. 154.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 118, p. 155.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 119, p. 156.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 120, p. 157.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 121, p. 158.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 122, p. 159.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 123, p. 160.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 124, p. 161.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 125, p. 162.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 126, p. 163.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 127, p. 164.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 128, p. 165.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 129, p. 166.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 130, p. 167.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 131, p. 168.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 132, p. 169.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 133, p. 170.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 134, p. 171.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 135, p. 172.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 136, p. 173.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 137, p. 174.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 138, p. 175.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 139, p. 176.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 140, p. 177.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 141, p. 178.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 142, p. 179.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 143, p. 180.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 144, p. 181.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 145, p. 182.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 146, p. 183.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 147, p. 184.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 148, p. 185.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 149, p. 186.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 150, p. 187.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 151, p. 188.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 152, p. 189.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 153, p. 190.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 154, p. 191.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 155, p. 192.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 156, p. 193.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 157, p. 194.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 158, p. 195.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 159, p. 196.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 160, p. 197.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 161, p. 198.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 162, p. 199.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 163, p. 200.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 164, p. 201.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 165, p. 202.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 166, p. 203.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 167, p. 204.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 168, p. 205.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 169, p. 206.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 170, p. 207.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 171, p. 208.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 172, p. 209.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 173, p. 210.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 174, p. 211.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 175, p. 212.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 176, p. 213.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 177, p. 214.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 178, p. 215.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 179, p. 216.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 180, p. 217.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 181, p. 218.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 182, p. 219.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 183, p. 220.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 184, p. 221.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 185, p. 222.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 186, p. 223.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 187, p. 224.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 188, p. 225.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 189, p. 226.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 190, p. 227.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 191, p. 228.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 192, p. 229.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 193, p. 230.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 194, p. 231.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 195, p. 232.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 196, p. 233.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 197, p. 234.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 198, p. 235.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 199, p. 236.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 200, p. 237.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 201, p. 238.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 202, p. 239.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 203, p. 240.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 204, p. 241.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 205, p. 242.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 206, p. 243.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 207, p. 244.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 208, p. 245.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 209, p. 246.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 210, p. 247.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 211, p. 248.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 212, p. 249.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 213, p. 250.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 214, p. 251.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 215, p. 252.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 216, p. 253.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 217, p. 254.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 218, p. 255.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 219, p. 256.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 220, p. 257.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 221, p. 258.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 222, p. 259.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 223, p. 260.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 224, p. 261.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 225, p. 262.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 226, p. 263.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 227, p. 264.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 228, p. 265.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 229, p. 266.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 230, p. 267.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 231, p. 268.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 232, p. 269.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 233, p. 270.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 234, p. 271.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 235, p. 272.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 236, p. 273.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 237, p. 274.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 238, p. 275.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 239, p. 276.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 240, p. 277.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 241, p. 278.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 242, p. 279.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 243, p. 280.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 244, p. 281.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 245, p. 282.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 246, p. 283.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 247, p. 284.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 248, p. 285.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 249, p. 286.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 250, p. 287.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 251, p. 288.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 252, p. 289.33–46 with Zon., pp. 204.14–205.5; § 253,

Thesph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Long.
-	cf. p. 798.1 ff	p. 215.29-35
-	p. 792.8 f.	pp. 215.35-216.37
-		p. 216.37 f.

On nine occasions (in *italic* in the table) Symeon is clearly independent of both Theophanes and George. In one case, he appears to make a personal comment in terms reminiscent of contemporary hymnography.⁴⁶ In another case, he is "recycling" and referring to Constantine V a rare expression found, in an almost identical context, once in each of the two fragments of the *Scriptor incertus* (above)—which Symeon used extensively for this period—with reference to Emperors Nikephoros and Leo V respectively.⁴⁷ In yet another case, he may have composed a personal development on the death of Empress Irene in a style evocative of George.⁴⁸ Two additions concern Euphrosyne, who features in Symeon's account of Theophilos' reign as the emperor's mother. This information is probably linked to a group of hagiographic texts relating to the posthumous absolution of Theophilus (*BHG* 1731–5), the best known of which is the *Life* of Empress Theodora perhaps independently known by George.⁴⁹ On one occasion, Symeon has additional information about the inhabitants of Thrace, whom he calls, as elsewhere, "Macedonians."⁵⁰ The remaining additions, except for one discussed below, concern City monuments and the burial of a member of the imperial family and may stem from either oral tradition, a Constantinopolitan source belonging to the *Patria* genre, or hagiography.⁵¹

36. Sym. Log., p. 187, 19 f.; ἡ τῆς [Blanchinus, quoniam ipse, kōm. Cf. A. SEARS, *Conex Leoninae Leoninus II* (Byzantinisches Archiv 23), Berlin – New York 2010, no. 1, p. 159, l. 33.

37. Compare Sym. Log., p. 190.85 f. (ἐπιπλεῖς δὲ τῷ προσήματι ὁ ἄλλος οὐκ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἀντιῶ γενομένην νίκην, with reference to military success against the Arabs, which, according to Symeon, encouraged the convocation of the iconoclast Synod of Hiereia) with Ougérov, La chronique (quoted n. 10), p. 210, l. 15 (ἀντίῳ οὖν ἐπιπλεῖς τῷ προσήματι οὐκ εἶναι τὴν νίκην), following the account of Nikephoros' initial victory against the Bulgars and announcing the nemesis and *Scriptor incertus* in *Leontis grammateis chronographia* (quoted n. 11), p. 3-8.16 (ἐπιπλεῖς τὴν τοῦ προσήματος οὐκ εἶναι, ὅς οὐκ ἀντίῳ καταβύλεν τὸν πόλεμον, again on a victory against the Bulgars and the second iconoclasm). On the use of the *Scriptor incertus* by Symeon, see Markopoulos, *op. cit.* 11 *chronographia* (quoted n. 5), pp. 152-7 (overlooking this parallel), in reference to Ps. Symeon. Ps. Symeon only knew the source through Symeon, as a quick check of the parallels identified in 1973 by Markopoulos with the (then unpublished) text of Symeon reveals. Wahlgren (who also overlooks this parallel) is overly sceptical as to the direct use of this source by Symeon, in the introduction to Sym. Log., p. *120.

38. *Sym. Log.*, p. 194, 174–8; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 186, 138 f. and 231, 326 (death of Emperor Theophilus) and Georg. Mon., pp. 311, 9 (death of Herod), 683, 17, and 788, 15 (= *Sym. Log.*, p. 213, 60) and 20 (death of Emperor Basil II).

[illegible]

41. Swain, *Log.*, pp. 211, 213 et. seq.; *ibid.*, pp. 230-1

[illegible]

Theroph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
p. 176 ff. ff.	p. 772.6	p. 204.2
pp. 177, 194-195, 26		p. 204.2 f.
p. 179, 2, 9	p. 772.6	pp. 204.3-205.20
		p. 205.20-3 (Theroph.)
p. 179, 10 f.		p. 205.23 ff.
pp. 179, 18-40 and 180, 15-9	p. 772.7-22	p. 205.25 f.
		p. 205.26-37 (Georg.)
p. 180, 1-21	pp. 772.26-774.2	pp. 205.37-206.56
p. 179, 18-40	p. 774.3 ff.	p. 206.56-9 (Georg.)
p. 180, 12 ff.	p. 774.5-9	p. 206.59-61
p. 181, 15 f. and 20	p. 774, 10 f.	p. 206.61 f.
pp. 180, 1-181, 22	pp. 774.18-775.12	pp. 206.62-207.64 (Theroph.)
pp. 181, 23-4, 12 and 180	p. 775.12-26	p. 207.64-75 (Georg.)
	p. 776.2 f.	p. 207.75-81 (Theroph.)
pp. 182, 1-8 and 185, 15 ff.	p. 776.3 ff.	p. 208.2
pp. 185, 15-20, 15		p. 208.2 ff. (Georg.)
pp. 185, 21-4 and 184, 7 f.	p. 776.5-11	p. 208.4 f.
		p. 208.5-11 (Georg.)
p. 186, 15-4		p. 208.11
pp. 185, 18-184, 5		p. 209.2
p. 186, 16, 1 f.		p. 209.2-7
p. 187, 18-30		p. 209.7 ff.
pp. 187, 31-1802, 29	pp. 776.14-24	p. 209.9 ff.
	p. 777.2 f.	p. 209.11-9 (Georg.)
p. 187, 20, 1		p. 210.2
p. 188, 15, 28		p. 210.2 ff.
		pp. 210.4-211.21
		p. 211.21 f.
	p. 777.26-15	p. 211.22-6
	p. 777.26-3	p. 211.26 ff.
	p. 778.2-5	p. 211.28 ff.
	pp. 778.2-9, 10	pp. 211.30-212.43
	p. 780, 1-4	p. 212.43-7
	pp. 782, 12-783, 1	p. 212.47-52
	pp. 783, 1-789, 10	pp. 212.52-214.7
	p. 789, 11	p. 214.2
	pp. 792, 1-793, 1	p. 214.2-11
		p. 214.11 f.
	pp. 793, 1-797, 12	pp. 214.12-215.29

Constantin had done so before him.¹ According to P. Lemerle, it henceforth became 'un des sommets de l'hagiographie byzantine que de lier les deux événements.'²

In fact, an overlooked passage in Constantine VII's *De administrando imperio*, composed shortly before Symeon's chronicle, displays textual parallels with both George's and Symeon's versions of the events. It is an isolated excursus within a set of excerpts from Theophanes' *Chronicle*, placed under the heading ἐκ τοῦ Χρονολογίου τοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντίνου.²⁰

[illegible]

Even if George and Symeon did rely here on a common source independently accessed by Constantine VII—which is far from verified—there would still be no reason to assume that this source extended back into the period covered by *Geographia*. The fact that Symeon got his hands on this material may indeed explain why he abandoned George at this point. It cannot therefore cause surprise that Symeon could not get into George, but into George's source, Theophanes. Constantine VII cannot have been anywhere so late. *De administrando imperio*,¹ as did other, later authors before it. Whichever the reasons that led Symeon to leave out instead George's pointless *Geographia* entry, the editors reading may feel some sympathy with that choice.

work (813-962) on the alleged inability to get to grips with the competing chronological systems found in his sources, namely the Byzantine era, which began in (September) 5509 *BC*, and the so-called Alexandrian era, which began ideally in 5500, in practice in 5492 *BC*.²⁹ The truth is again much simpler. As I hope to show, Ps.-Symeon's mistakes in this section are merely the result of the attempt to extend Theophanes' computation and to connect it with chronological indications of an entirely different nature found in one other source.

The earliest use of the Year of the Creation in Ps.-Symeon occurs in the eleventh year of Diocletian, equated to AM 5787 according to Theophanes' system (fol. 82^v). In truth, Theophanes does not explicitly mention the AM in this entry and has already used it in the chronological rubric of the very first entry of the *Chronicle* (AM 5777). Yet it is no coincidence that AM 5787 immediately precedes in Theophanes the explicit mention of AM 5788. Thereafter, Theophanes keeps on mentioning the AM and AD in a rather unpredictable way in the rubrics, with the only recognizable pattern being, with rare exceptions, the occurrence of a change of ruler in Byzantium. Ps.-Symeon recognized this pattern and followed it consistently. He indeed converts Theophanes' chronological indication for the year of Constantine's accession (AM 5797) into the Byzantine era (AM 5813), but later simply follows Theophanes on both the "Alexandrian" AM and the Year of the Incarnation.⁹¹

Now, when he parts company with Theophanes, Ps.-Symeon continues visibly to count from the last entry in the *Chronicle*, AM 6305 and AD "805"—in fact 812/813—only skipping one year and thus placing Leo V's accession in AM 6307 and AD "807"—in fact 814/815.⁴¹ The subsequent emperors are assigned a date of accession by the simple addition of the length of their reigns. This information matches what we find in Symeon, Ps.-Symeon's main source for the period after 813. Although Ps.-Symeon only knew Symeon in the later redaction, which lies as yet unpublished, it is reasonable to assume that the chronology was not altered dramatically.⁴² Thus, according to Symeon, Michael II becomes emperor in AM 6314 and AD "814," with Leo assigned, on the authority of Ps.-Symeon, seven years and five months. Theophilus becomes sole ruler in 6323 and AD "823," with Michael similarly assigned eight years and nine months, and so on.⁴³

49. MARRONNI *loc. cit.* "Η χρονολογία" (quoted n. 5), p. 149 f. On the discrepancy between the Alexandrian and the Dionysian eras, see MASO – SCORR, p. xiv.

50. Thus, for example, Ps.-Symeon dates Julian's accession to AM 5853 and AD "353"—in fact 360/361—just one year short of Theophanes' indication. The mistake was probably prompted by the presence of a similar indication in the preceding entry in Ps.-Symeon's model (PROTERIUS, *Quellenkritische Studien* [quoted n. 5], p. 53; *Paris gr.* 1712, fol. 91v). On Constantine, see PROTERIUS, *Quellenkritische Studien* (quoted n. 5), p. 53; *Paris gr.* 1712, fol. 91v. On Heraclius' accession and *Paris gr.* 1712, fol. 83v. For the unpublished section of Ps.-Symeon, see e.g. Heraclius' accession and *Paris gr.* 1712, fol. 83v. For the unpublished section of Ps.-Symeon, see e.g. Heraclius' accession and *Paris gr.* 1712, fol. 171v. Tiberius dated, in agreement with Theophanes, to AM 6102 and AD "602" (*Paris gr.* 1712, fol. 171v). Tiberius' accession, similarly dated to AM 6191 and AD "691" (fol. 191v), and Constantine VI's accession to AM 6273 and AD "773" (fol. 220v).

51. *Ps. Sym.*, p. 603; *Flora*, gr. 1712, fol. 238.

51. *Ps. Symm.*, p. 6013; *Para. gr.* 1712, fol. 235^r.
52. *Markomir*, in *Il gossoppant* (quoted in *St.*, p. 144; Washburn's introduction to *Symm.*, loc. cit.).

⁵³ Michael II: Ps.-Sym., p. 620 with 603 and Sym. Log., p. 210; Theophilus Ps.-Sym., p. 629 with 620 and Sym. Log., p. 214; Michael III (asm 6535): Ps.-Sym., p. 617 with 629 and Sym. Log., p. 214; Michael III (twelve years): Basil I (asm 6302): Ps.-Sym., p. 620 with 603 (Michael III twelve years), Basil I (asm 6302): Ps.-Sym., p. 620 with 603.

καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ ζῳῇ. Ἡρῶντο οὖν οἱ βένετοι λέγειν: Τὰ δορηθέντα ἔτι τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ ἡ χάρις παρέσχετο οὐκ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὅτι εἰσὶν ὧς ἔτι καὶ πλείω· ἡ δὲ ζοὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοφάνου ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῇ γ'."⁷⁰ In spite of the authors' claim, this passage does not come from the *Chronicle* either. It is, however, practically identical with the second part of a famous *scholion* found, with minor variants, in manuscripts *Vat. gr.* 977 and *gr.* 132, where the content is said explicitly to stem from the "book" of the monk "Isaakios."⁷¹

As M. Tankowicz and I, still unaware of Byzantios and Kalliadou's quotes, stumbled upon the *scholion* during the early stages of the preparation of the present volume, we were immediately tempted to associate Theophanes with the mysterious Isaakios, in spite of the obvious lack of correspondence in content that probably discouraged our predecessors. "Isaakios" was indeed the name of Theophanes' father and the name by which Theophanes himself was usually called, according to the Greek biographers and monographs of the confessor as well as to Anastasius the Librarian (below).⁷² I now am far from suggesting on the basis of this example alone that a work of generally low scientific standards such as that of Byzantios and Kalliadou preserves the traces of a lost manuscript of Theophanes. The solution simply escapes me.

THE HAGIOGRAPHY

In 1896, M. I. Golenko discovered in a twelfth-century manuscript at the Pantokrator monastery in Moscow a hagiographic *divertissement* purporting to narrate the life of the founder of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Chora (today's Kariye Camii). Theodorus, during the reign of Justinian I (*BHG* 1743). An edition of the text was only provided from an additional tenth-century manuscript in Genoa, by Ch. Lopatev in 1906 and amended in 1906 by Th. Schmidt, who also offered a detailed commentary, fully unveiling the anonymous author's debt to the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.⁷³

The hagiographer did not only draw from the *Chronicle* the historical background to his otherwise fictional story, but went as far as to extrapolate and adapt with questionable accuracy the *Chronicle's* preface. The "genuine friendship" (ἡμῖν ὡς γνησίους φίλοις) of the kind of which George Synkellos entrusted Theophanes with the continuation

of his historical work becomes thus the "genuine chidship" (ἡμῖν ὡς γνησίους τέκνοις) connecting the author of the *Life* to the unnamed μακαριώτατος καὶ ἡγίων πιστερός (cf. ὁ μὲν μακαριώτατος ἄββας Γεώργιος Theoph.) who began work on a biography of Theodore and whose endeavour was, like George's, interrupted by a saintly death (τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου πρώτους κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθὸν σκοπὸν μη ἰσχύσαντες; cf. τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας ἡγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσε Theoph.).⁷⁴

C. Mango has recently gone over the *Life* of Theodore in detail, deeply improving our understanding of its relationship to the *Life of Michael Synkellos*, with which it appears to share a source for the history of the monastery of Chora. Mango argued for a date of composition around 840, which would make the *Life* of Theodore one of the earliest attestations of the circulation of the *Chronicle*.⁷⁵ Spotting few minor differences between the *Life* and Theophanes, Mango also concluded: "it is not certain that the text of Theophanes used by the author was markedly different from ours. His departures from it may have been due to inattention or other reasons."⁷⁶ While this is largely the case, it should be noted that the author of the *Life* mistakenly dates the death of Justin and the accession of Justinian as sole emperor to AM 6021 instead of AM 6019, found in Theophanes. Mango failed to notice that this indication is paralleled in Kedrenos. This was first pointed out by V. N. Benešević, who, however, did not know that the wrong piece of information stems from the intermediary between Theophanes and Kedrenos: the chronicle of Ps.-Symeon (above).⁷⁷

Incidentally, there is one more substantive discrepancy between the *Life* and the *Chronicle*, which Mango overlooked. The hagiographer attributes explicitly the compilation of the first edition of Justinian's *Codex*, τῆς Νεαρᾶς Διατάξεως, in Theophanes (AM 6021, p. 177), to both Justin and Justinian (πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐτοκρατορίας, ἐπὶ ζῶντος Ἰουστινίου), lending the work the much more glamorous title of Νέα Κέλυσσις τῶν βασιλευόντων.⁷⁸ This one isolated reference, however unexplainable, is no good

⁷⁰ *De S. Theodoro monacho* (quoted n. 69) § 1, p. 1, with Schmidt, *Kariye Camii* (quoted n. 70), p. 248 and Theoph., p. 3 f. Cf. W. BENSCHWITZ, *Codex Justinianus*, *Zeitschrift der Deutsch-Französischen Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 24, 1903, pp. 409–13, at pp. 410 f., n. 2. The author of the *Life* plagiarized Theophanes' preface further.

⁷¹ C. MANGO, *The Life of St. Theodore of Chora and the Chronicle of Theophanes*, in *Logos and scholar: papers in memory of Demetrios I. Papanikolaou*, ed. by E. Chrysos and E. A. Zachariadou (Athens 2004), pp. 183–94.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁷³ Compare *Codex*, I, p. 642 and *Itin.* gr. 1712 fol. 120: Κόσμος ἔτι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ αὐτὸς. Kedrenos gives here the length of Justinian's reign as it probably appeared in the original Ps.-Symeon postulated by Franchier. He also corrected the numeral for the year of the incarnation into 65th and made a puzzling addition to Ps.-Symeon between the account of Justin's funeral and that of Euphrasios' death and Ephraim's ordination at Antioch on 26 Feb. ἀρχιεπισκοπὴς θεοφάνου ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. It is hard to say whether John was mentioned in the original Ps.-Symeon and whether this mention relates to that of a "John" of Jerusalem, the point in the *Life*. Cf. BENSCHWITZ, *Codex* (quoted n. 70), p. 410 n. 1.

⁷⁴ *De S. Theodoro monacho* (quoted n. 69) § 3, p. 2. Cf. Schmidt, *Kariye Camii* (quoted n. 70), p. 12.

the approximate date of the recapture of Bari and the day of Louis' kidnap by Count Adelchis during the siege of Taranto respectively.⁹⁴

The author opens his argumentation with the claim that he has "read much" and is "not reading wrongly" (*apud nos multa lecta sunt, multa quidem indefesse leguntur*).⁹⁵ He goes on:

Leaving aside for the moment the Latin manuscripts, if you only browse through the recently published Greek manuscripts, you shall no doubt find many that are called by this name and that not only the leaders of the Greeks, but also the leaders of the Persians, the Epirotes, the Indians, the Bithynians, the Parthians, Armenians, Saracens, Ethiopians, Vandals, Goths, and other people are honoured with the title of basileis. [...] Nor is your assertion too surprising, that the ruler of the Arabs should be called protosymboulos, for no such title appears in our books and your own manuscripts call him at times architar, at times "king" or whatever other word. Now we prefer the Holy Scripture to all literature and the Scripture says that thanks to David the "kings" of the Arabs and Saba—and not the Greeks, tributed—prospered. We also find that the leader of the Avars, not the leader of the Romans or the Normans, is called khagan, nor is the ruler of the Bulgars called thus, but "king" or "lord" of the Bulgars. All what I am saying on this account, how it all differs from what you have written, you may find out by yourself reading the Greek books.⁹⁶

In 1906, A. Kleinclausz argued that Louis' letter was an ecclesiastical forgery written by Anastasius, whom he singled out as the only possible candidate mainly because of the notorious fluency in Greek.⁹⁷ The fragility of Kleinclausz' complex fraud theory was soon exposed, but the attribution to Anastasius, seen as Louis' ghost-writer, was never abandoned. N. Ertl proved it abundantly with a thorough comparison of the wording and the biblical quotes in the letter with those of Anastasius' other writings. Her analysis pointed unmistakably to a single author.⁹⁸

It would be pointless to repeat here Ertl's arguments in detail. Not only do we know that Anastasius served as a Western imperial observer at the anti-Photian council, but the Librarian's presence in Naples, close to the Frankish imperial court in Benevento, is well attested in 871 (below). Further on in the letter, the author unveils his political motives:

And just as we, because of our faith in Christ, became the seed of Abraham while the Jews, because of their faithlessness, ceased to be the sons of Abraham, we ourselves used to acknowledge the authority of the emperor of the Romans because of their orthodoxy, that

is their good dogma, but the Greeks, because of their heresies, that is bad dogma, have ceased to be emperor of the Romans, abandoning not only the City and part of the Empire, but also the Roman people and very language, making it a new city, people, and language.⁹⁹

The idea of the cessation of the Roman Empire has its roots in early ninth-century Frankish propaganda.¹⁰⁰ Yet nowhere do we find it expressed in similarly clear terms before Louis' letter to Basil. In the same year as this text was written, Anastasius addressed to pope Hadrian II his translation of the acts of the anti-Photian council. In the preface one reads:

Since the emperors of the Romans, who are now called Greeks, having become the supporters and frontholders of numerous misdeeds, barely hesitated in separating apart the Holy Church of Christ by the means of manifold heresies, God tore apart their Empire and they gradually ceased to reign over the Western parts, while they tried without success to subdue with their wickedness the Roman pontiffs—for this reason they afflicted them in many ways—and thus lost completely their power in the West.¹⁰¹

In sum, there can be no doubt as to the attribution of Louis' letter to Anastasius. Elsewhere in the text, he calls the "Greek manuscripts" more precisely "annals."¹⁰² Anastasius is not simply affecting devotion when he prides himself on "preferring the Holy Scripture to all literature." In the age of Photios, the Byzantines themselves were just starting to copy profane works: it is unlikely that he would be able to draw upon a vast Greek library. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the "Greek books" and "annals" in question included the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, the translation of which was almost certainly underway in 871. As a matter of fact, nearly all the cases of the application of the title *basileus* to foreign rulers listed by Anastasius with little concern for historical ethnography are found in George Syncellus and, after Dioclerian, in Theophanes: Persians,¹⁰³ Epirotes, that is King Pyrrhus,¹⁰⁴ Indians, that is the Axumites and the Hungarites,¹⁰⁵ Bithynians,¹⁰⁶ Parthians,¹⁰⁷ Armenians,¹⁰⁸ Saracens,¹⁰⁹ Ethiopians,¹¹⁰ Vandals,¹¹¹ and Goths.¹¹² The correspondence, however, does not extend to the entire list.

94. MGH Ep. 7, p. 390,9–15.

95. See, e.g., the continuation of the *Annals of Lorsch*, MGH SS 1, s.a. 801: *et quia cum tunc emularet a parte Graecorum nomen imperatoris, et femineum nomen apud se habebant*. On this text, composed ca. 803, see R. Collins, "Charlemagne's imperial coronation and the Annals of Lorsch," in *Charlemagne: empire and society*, ed. by J. Story, Manchester – New York 2005, pp. 52–70, esp. pp. 63 f.

96. MGH Ep. 7, p. 411,35–412,5, now available in a new edition: *Gesta sanctae ac universalis oecumene synodi quae Constantinopoli congregata est Anastasio bibliothecario interprete*, rec., emendavit, adnotation critica instruxit C. Leonardi, post eius obitum recognovit, prolegomenis, notulis, indicibus exornavit A. Placania (Edizione nazionale dei testi medievali di Italia 2^a), Firenze 2012, p. 19.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 389,21: *et revolvit Graecorum annalium*.

98. Georg. Sync., pp. 278, 288, 300 etc. See also the index in Theoph. 2, p. 582, s.v. βασιλεὺς 2.

99. Georg. Sync., p. 320.

100. Theoph., p. 335.

101. Georg. Sync., pp. 333 and 378.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 343 and 440.

103. Theoph., p. 24.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

105. *Ibid.*, p. 244.

106. See the index in Theoph. 2, p. 484, s.v. Θινάκηλοι.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 593, s.v. Γόθων.

94. Cf. Kleinclausz, in R. M. Gieseler, *History the Normans – Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries*, Philadelphia PA 1891, pp. 36–37.

95. MGH Ep. 7, p. 390,36.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 387–377 and 388, s.v. 8.

97. See A. Kleinclausz, *La lettre de Louis II à Basile le Macédonien: à propos d'un livre récent*, in *Revue de l'histoire de l'église en France* 1905, pp. 175–192; A. Kleinclausz, *La lettre de Louis II à Basile le Macédonien*, in *Revue de l'histoire de l'église en France* 1905, pp. 45–54; R. Wilm, *Über den Brief Kaiser Ludwigs II. an den Kaiser Basilius I.*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 35, 1910, pp. 663–76.

98. N. Ertl, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Papstbriefes*, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 5, 1938, pp. 1–10; see also C. L. 134. The edition prepared by M. McCormack, *Origin of the European emperor: the coronation of Charlemagne in 800*, Cambridge 2001, p. 946, and N. H., *Seventh-century pope: the coronation of Charlemagne in 800*, Cambridge 2001, p. 946, and N. H., *Seventh-century pope: the coronation of Charlemagne in 800*, Cambridge 2001, p. 946, adds little to the debate.

A chronicle composed in the early ninth century could hardly have contained a mention of the Normans, and in fact Anastasius has no alternative title to draw from the chronicle. Theophanes does indeed never apply the title *khan* to the Bulgars, but it does apply to the Khazars – and the Avars for that matter.¹⁰⁸ Also, contrary to Anastasius' claim, the caliphs are called *protosymbuloi* in the *Chronicle*, although *apexis* probably means by Anastasius by *archis*, is found here and there, notably in the fuller chronological rubrics found at the beginning of several entries.¹⁰⁹ All these titles were doublet and behind a marginal note which betrays knowledge of the debate carried on in Louis' letter: *protosymbuloi graece primi consiliarii interpretatur; quia enim principes Sarracenorum quos regem vocant resurgent hunc protosymbulum vocant quoniam primum consilio dantur*.¹¹⁰ How to explain Anastasius' failure to spot the titles in question?

It may or may not be a coincidence that, on one occasion when quoting from Theophanes in the *De administrando imperio*, Constantine VII produces precisely the same *apexis* for *protosymbuloi*, which de Boor failed to indicate in his apparatus.¹¹¹ The most reasonable solution to the conundrum, however, has been suggested to me by L. Zuckerman. It consists in admitting that by August 871 Anastasius had only read Theophanes' *Chronicle* down to about two thirds of its length, that is where the traceable echoes in the end of Louis' letter end. Thus we gain an unhelped for insight into the *Chronicle*'s readership. There are two further points which I would like to stress: (1) Anastasius, in the letter, speaks of Greek annals that have been "recently published" (*recentioribus*), which suggests that, to his knowledge at least, the *Chronicle* had not been available for a long time; (2) the error *archis* for *archigos* points to Anastasius' Greek model being written in uncial, which is interesting, although perhaps not entirely surprising data for palaeographers.

Others in Italy were at work on Theophanes' text besides Anastasius. As we shall see, the second part of the *Deeds of the Neapolitan bishops*, composed in 872 by the local deacon John, draws a few lines with the *Chronicle* (below). The circulation of Theophanes' text in Naples is easily explained by the Librarian's presence there in 871, invited by the Leg of Bishop Athanasius by the Neapolitan clerk Guarimipontus.¹¹² The same Guarimipontus, in the commentary to his Latin translation of the *Passio of Peter of Alexandria* (1071), 1072, quotes explicitly an extensive fragment on Constantine's capture from Theophanes' *Ad* 59.14, translating it independently from Anastasius.¹¹³ It

is noteworthy that here, as in Anastasius' translation, the yearly entry is introduced by the extended reference to the "nineteenth [*sic*] year of the reign of Constantine" rather than by the complete chronological rubric found in the Greek and the standard formula "in this year."¹¹⁴ Whether this means that Anastasius' working copy, upon which Guarimipontus certainly depends, could omit the rubrics in favour of simpler chronological indications and whether this relates to the similar phenomenon observed in the Slavonic indirect tradition will perhaps remain open questions (below).

A SYRIAC READERSHIP?

In 1971 the late G. C. Hansen expressed the view that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Michael the Syrian and the anonymous compiler of the *Chronicle of 1234* depended on Theodore Lector's Church histories via the *Chronicle* of Theophanes. In support of his idea, Hansen illustrated several cases in which the late Syriac Orthodox chronicles present information found in Theodore's work with ellipses and distortions that are characteristic of Theophanes' text.¹¹⁵

Hansen's theory did not find its way into the debate around the relation between Theophanes and the Syriac historiographical tradition, which has, since L. I. Conrad's 1990 paper, almost entirely focussed on the delimitation of a hypothetical source for the seventh and eighth centuries common to all these authors. Notoriously, this source

rumus, sed quaedam eorum ex libello decerpere studuimus, qui vitam ei gesto sanctissimam refert. Athanasius quidam vero ex chronica quam Georgius reverentissimus monachus atque synellus, sancti patriarchae ex authenticis chronographis nobilissima serie componere studuit. Corpus enim a prima anno Iulii Caesaris et peruenit usque ad primum annum horrendae memoriae Diocletiani. Mox autem humano praecipiente delirio vitam finivit. Postulatque ab eo Theophanes atque venerabilis monachus atque yguanus monasterii quod appellatur Sinagra reliqua usque ad secundum annum Michaelis et Theophilacti simili studio subrogavit. Et quoniam clementissimi imperatoris Constantini sectam mentionem, tale quiddam de eo prefatum Theophanem inter caetera referentem audio, ut hoc latini auribus celare sacrilegum sit. Deit enim illius decimo anno imperii sui Constantinus maior post tyrannorum interfectionem scilicet Maximiani Herculi et Maximini atque Licinii baptizatus est cum Crispo filio suo sicut atheni a papa Silvestro apud sanctorem Romanum. In baptisterio sancti baptisae Iohannis quod usque hodie in eum testimonio perdurat. Qui vero in Oriente sunt Arianis dolositate circumventi noluerunt eum a Silvestro baptizatum. Sed erga obitum suum in Nicomedia ab Eusebio Arianus, adicientes, ideo se baptizari differebat ut Iordani baptismateingeretur. Sed hoc omnino falsissimum atque fabulosum est. Arianus enim suum dogma colorare cupiente, ad per quosdam populi Miltiadis transmissiones affirmare nitentur. Ceterum nobis verumum apparet, quod non ab Eusebio sed a beato Silvestro Romae sit baptizatus. O munera venania, adeo pium imperatorem malignare ostendere daudam, ut abique baptismo fueret quando in sancta synodo trecentorum et octo patrum communis decessione reuocari. Pericul hinc pericul effuge daemonica simulatio. Quomodo enim consequens est ut homo abluere abique divini baptismati purificatione apud eandem synodum cum sanctis patribus oraret; consummationem uermanenti corporis et sanguini Christi perciperet? Hoc omnino nefas est ad audiendum, quantum minus ad commentandum. On the attribution to Guarimipontus, see P. Devos, *L'œuvre de Guarimipontus, hagiographe napolitain*, *AnBoll* 76, 1958, pp. 151–88, esp. pp. 176 I.

114. Cf. Theoph., p. 17, in the eighteenth year of Constantine with following the god, the emperor taking to law, and Theoph. 2, p. 81, *Octavo decimo anno imperii sui anno*.

115. Theod. Lect., pp. xxiv I, with A. Hilken's contribution to this volume, summarizing Hansen's arguments and partially subscribing to the latter's hypothesis. Much of what follows stems from hours of spirited discussion with Dr. Hilken and with Dr. M. Cozzetta. To them I am greatly indebted.

108. Theoph. 1, 12.14, 12.15, 12.16.

109. Theoph. 1, 12.17, 12.18, 12.19, 12.20, 12.21, 12.22, 12.23, 12.24, 12.25, 12.26, 12.27, 12.28, 12.29, 12.30, 12.31, 12.32, 12.33, 12.34, 12.35, 12.36, 12.37, 12.38, 12.39, 12.40, 12.41, 12.42, 12.43, 12.44, 12.45, 12.46, 12.47, 12.48, 12.49, 12.50, 12.51, 12.52, 12.53, 12.54, 12.55, 12.56, 12.57, 12.58, 12.59, 12.60, 12.61, 12.62, 12.63, 12.64, 12.65, 12.66, 12.67, 12.68, 12.69, 12.70, 12.71, 12.72, 12.73, 12.74, 12.75, 12.76, 12.77, 12.78, 12.79, 12.80, 12.81, 12.82, 12.83, 12.84, 12.85, 12.86, 12.87, 12.88, 12.89, 12.90, 12.91, 12.92, 12.93, 12.94, 12.95, 12.96, 12.97, 12.98, 12.99, 13.1, 13.2, 13.3, 13.4, 13.5, 13.6, 13.7, 13.8, 13.9, 13.10, 13.11, 13.12, 13.13, 13.14, 13.15, 13.16, 13.17, 13.18, 13.19, 13.20, 13.21, 13.22, 13.23, 13.24, 13.25, 13.26, 13.27, 13.28, 13.29, 13.30, 13.31, 13.32, 13.33, 13.34, 13.35, 13.36, 13.37, 13.38, 13.39, 13.40, 13.41, 13.42, 13.43, 13.44, 13.45, 13.46, 13.47, 13.48, 13.49, 13.50, 13.51, 13.52, 13.53, 13.54, 13.55, 13.56, 13.57, 13.58, 13.59, 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is identified with the lost historical work of Theophilus of Edessa († 785), to which Michael and the anonymous chronicler had only mediate access through an earlier Syriac chronicle, by Dionysius of Telmahre († 845), and with which Agapius of Mambij, writing in Arabic in the tenth century, and perhaps others still appear to have been familiar.¹¹⁶ If indeed the Syriac chroniclers had access to Theophanes, as Hansen thought, be it beside another common source, any inadvertent reconstruction of this common source risks being flawed by the attribution of bits of narrative that may in fact stem from Theophanes.

Hansen's hypothesis was based on a limited sample pertaining to the fourth century. Remarkably, in the list of fourth- and fifth-century parallels between Theophanes and the late Syriac chronicles drawn by A. Hilken in the present volume, the Syriac chronicles offer additional information in only one case. This is a detail concerning Emperor Valens' death by burning after the battle of Adrianople, which, according to Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*, happened in a "straw-barn" ("maison de la paille" in Mich. Syr. transl. I, pp. 294 f.; simply *palea* in *Chron. 1234*, transl., p. 132).¹¹⁷ This detail is paralleled in the *Church history* of Arian historian Philostorgius as preserved in Photios' epitome and is included in the last fragment of the hypothetical Arian history surmised by I. Bidez in 1913, itself believed to be among Theophanes' sources.¹¹⁸ More interestingly, the same detail appears in one dependant of Theophanes, Ps.-Symeon (above).¹¹⁹

D. Alinogenov has studied thoroughly the Greek tradition about Valens' death. References to a "straw-barn" with the peculiar word *ἀχυρών*—a probable allusion to the Greek proverb "the donkey fled to the barn"—can be traced back to a lost five-century anti-Arian source already reflected, for example, in the sixth-century *Life of Isidore* (BHG 956).¹²⁰ It seems reasonable to assume that Ps.-Symeon—and, following him, Kedrenos, who did otherwise follow Theophanes—had this detail simply from Symeon, for all these authors use the term *ἀχυρών*.¹²¹ Philostorgius himself (or rather Photios) and George the Monk in the redaction of *Paris. Const.* 305 speak of a store building for "hay" (*χόστας*), and of a *χυροβόλος* respectively.¹²²

Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234* could not have drawn any information on the fourth century from Theophilus. Whether Theophilus' work is pictured as a short, recent history or a world chronicle, it only reached its Syriac dependants by means of Dionysius,

whose own chronicle certainly began with the late sixth century.¹²³ It is hard to tell which branch of the Greek tradition the late Syriac chroniclers were in touch with, but much speaks for the existence of an additional source, whether Arian or not, rather than for the dependence of the Syriac sources on a more complete text of Theophanes or on the latter's dependants. Thus the Greek word *ἀχυρός*, found in Philostorgius (in the plural) and Malalas in reference to the place where Valens sought refuge after being defeated at Adrianople, was transliterated into Syriac.¹²⁴

One more parallel between Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles before Theophilus has been highlighted by J. van Ginkel.¹²⁵ This is the abdication speech of Justin II, Michael and the chronicler of 1234 conflate the versions of John of Ephesus and Theophylact Simocatta.¹²⁶ The latter is reproduced by Theophanes as well and it is tempting to believe that they borrowed it from Theophanes or a source close to him.¹²⁷

Finally, I would like for my part to draw attention to the fact that Theophanes and Michael the Syrian present an almost word-for-word parallel account of Pope Leo III's flight to France leading to Charlemagne's imperial coronation at Christmas 800. This fact was duly pointed out but left unexplained by the English translators, who also overlooked a third parallel, identified by Paul Speck in the second part of the Latin *Deeds of the Neapolitan bishops*.¹²⁸ Whatever the place of the Western tradition,¹²⁹ it is useful to put the three texts side by side only in order to notice that Michael's version is extremely close to Theophanes', which it would appear to abridge and distort.

123. See HORTLAND, *Theophilus*, p. 11.

124. See Philost., ed. Bidez, App. VII, p. 241, frs. 48a-b; Mal., XIII, 35, p. 265; cf. АЛИНОГЕНОВ, *Труды императора Василия* (quoted n. 120), p. 35.

125. J. van GINKEL, A man is not an island: reflections of the historiography of the early Syriac Renaissance in Michael the Great, in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. Teule & C. Falescu-Lazwinski (Eastern Christian studies 9), Leuven – Paris – Walpole MA 2010, pp. 113–21, at pp. 116 f., suggesting that Ignatius of Melitene, Michael's main source for Byzantine events for the period after Dionysius, might be responsible for the transmission of "several longer [Greek] texts." This hypothesis would appear to run up against Michael's very presentation of Ignatius' work, which did start with Constantine and which Michael indeed claims to have used sporadically even for the period covered by Dionysius, as, however, "passant sur les temps très brièvement et comme d'un pas rapide" (Mich. Syr., XIII, 1, transl., III, p. 112).

126. Joh. Eph., HE III, 5, transl., pp. 92–5; Theoph. Sym., III, 11, pp. 136 ff.; Mich. Syr., X, 15, transl., II, pp. 334 ff.; *Chron. 1234*, transl., pp. 163 ff.

127. Theoph., AM 6070, pp. 248 f. The preserved text of Theophanes and his Greek dependants presents here a faulty reading (*contra* MANGO – SCOTT, p. 369, n. 3), mistaking "sycophants" for "soldiers," which is found in no manuscript of Theophylact and is not reflected in the Syriac chronicles.

128. Theoph., AM 6289, pp. 472 f.; Mich. Syr., XII, 5, transl., III, pp. 17 f.; MICH SS rer. Lang., p. 428, with P. SIECK, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.: die Legitimation einer Fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft*, München 1978, pp. 372 f. Cf. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 473.

129. See above, on Anastasius. In spite of the correct date, the event is misplaced by Theophanes, who has, however, a doublet on Charles' coronation in the entry for the correct year, AM 6293.

116. I. I. GONCHAROV, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990.

117. See the contribution in the section of this volume devoted to the topic.

118. Theoph., AM 9070, p. 65, uses the words *οἰκισμός* and *οἰκία*.

119. See Theoph., AM 6070, pp. 409–10.

120. See P. АЛИНОГЕНОВ, *Кто-то из Иудеев* (quoted n. 5), pp. 64 f. (*Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 97^v), assuming the detail to be phantasmic. *Epitome* (see above).

121. I. I. АЛИНОГЕНОВ, *Византизм в греческой историографической традиции* (Материалы к истории византизма), СПб. 2012 (= *Материалы к истории, историографии и источниковедению Византизма*, 18–20 кн., 2012), pp. 34–41.

122. See above, note 119, 2, p. 118, apparently mistaking the word for a toponym; cf. *Труды императора Василия* (quoted n. 120), p. 36, n. 2.

123. See above, note 119, 2, p. 118, apparently mistaking the word for a toponym; cf. *Труды императора Василия* (quoted n. 120), pp. 35 f., overlooking Theophilus' comment by Dionysius (X, 47, ed. Bidez, p. 324). It is unclear to me why the short history of Theophilus was not taken into account with Dionysius if, as Alinogenov thinks, it was drastically

THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR IN THE SLAVIC TRADITION

by Anna-Marija Totomanova

A chronological compilation preserved in five Russian manuscripts of the 15th–16th centuries contains the first pages of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor in Old Church Slavonic. Only four of these manuscripts were known until the mid-1980s: two at the Russian State Library in Moscow, Undolskiy 1289 and Egorov 908, and two at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Sofiyskiy 1474, and Solovevskiy 829/839.¹ The Undolskiy has long been considered to be the earliest and lies at the basis of my edition.² However, another witness of the *Chronicle* has recently been discovered in Egorov's collection (Egorov 863). It is dated by a marginal note to 1452 and appears therefore to be the earliest extant witness.³ From the textual point of view, Egorov 863 does not differ markedly from the other Moscow copies, except for a few minor omissions, word shuffles and lexical changes.⁴

The compilation was first simply identified as a Slavonic version of the *Chronicle* of George Synkellos and therefore overlooked. While preparing the edition, however, I found out that:

- its first part (about two-thirds of the work, e.g. fol. 405^v, l. 1–458^v, l. 15 in Undolskiy 1289) contains an excerpt from the *Chronography* of Julius Africanus from the Creation of the world to the Resurrection;
- the second part is in fact a translation of the end of the *Chronicle* of George Synkellos from the Resurrection to the reign of Diocletian (458^v, l. 15–482^v, l. 19 in Undolskiy 1289), to which the first pages of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor were added with no solution of continuity (482^v, l. 20–488^v, l. 20).

1. Хр. Трендафилов, Наблюдения върху славянският превод на хрониката на Георги Синкелл, *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 14, 1990, pp. 100–10, at p. 102; О. В. Творогов, Хроника Георгия Синкелла в Древней Руси, in *Исследования по древней и новой литературе*, Leningrad 1987, pp. 215–9, at p. 217.

2. А.-М. Тотоманова, Славянската версия на хрониката на Георги Синкелл (*Издание и комментарий*), София 2008.

3. Т. В. Аписимова, Хроника Георгия Амартола и древнерусские списки XIV–XV вв., Москва 2009, pp. 89–93.

4. Н. В. Бражничкова, Наблюдения над списками славянского перевода Хроники Георгия Синкелла, in *Антикритическое источниковедение и история русской мысли*, Москва 2000, pp. 106–18.

Chronicon in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & E. Montmarquet (Travaux de numismatique 19), Paris 2015, pp. 207–33.

There can be little doubt that the text was first compiled in Greek in Byzantium in the 11th century. H. Gelzer already believed that an excerpt of Julius Africanus' *Chronography* on Old Testament history existed at about this time within a larger chronographic compilation later used by Greek chronographers such as George the Monk, Leo the Grammarian (in fact, Symeon Logothetes) and Cedrenus.⁵ The compilation was probably meant to support the missionary expansion of Byzantium by providing a short but comprehensive account of the Christian history of the world. The short introduction to the *Chronicle* (fol. 405r, ll. 1-15) contains excerpts from *Orations* 28 and 38 of Gregory of Nazianzus which describe the heavenly and angelic ranks.⁶ I shall come back to the question of the origin of the compilation.

As for the Slavonic translation, the linguistic analysis reveals: the ancient use of the letter for *glava* (*golova*) for the back labial vowel; traces of Glagolitic letters in the numerals common in the division of the Greek text, which are typical of the earliest translations of the Bible; ancient forms of the second signmatic aorist in first conjugation verbs with liquid consonant root, which are otherwise characteristic of the early Russian copies of Old Bulgarian originals; substantial differences in the adaptation of Greek borrowings in comparison to the classical Old Bulgarian texts; ancient and rare lexis common to the classical Old Bulgarian corpus, the early Russian copies of Old Bulgarian originals and the language of John the Esarch. All these features indicate that the Slavonic translation of the lost Byzantine compilation was made in the early Old Bulgarian period, probably in the early 10th century, when the literary norms of the Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic) language were not well established and the Glagolitic alphabet was still in active use.² The Christian focus of the compilation fits the Bulgarian reality of that time, when emperors needed a clear account of the Christian history of the world and the Bulgarian kings aspired to be recognized as equal to other Christian rulers.³

The first part of the compilation contains a coherent narrative of Old Testament history and part of the history of Ancient Rome, Persia and the Hellenistic world. Its backbone is formed by twenty-three chronological entries, each containing Africanus' dates and calculations, which allowed the identification¹⁰. The dates were calculated according to years of accession (*impetrantibus aetat*), i.e. the age of the fathers at the time

10. H. Gerson, *Jesus, Jesus, Abwegen und die byzantinische Chantographie*, 2, *Die Nachfolger des Jesus Abwegen* (Lipsitz 1970) (New York 1973), p. 297.

For additional comments, see (quoted in [1], pp. 407 f. (ibid., pp. 408, 411)).

8. A. M. Lukatskii, *Novo Russkoe slovo* in Slavic translation, *Studia Slavica* 1, 2011 (2012), p. 201.

[illegible]

of the birth of the first sons, and by the duration of the reign of successive Jewish rulers (none again).

This main chronological frame¹⁰ is backed up by another chronological scheme, in which events are dated by Olympiads, the first one coinciding with the first year of the reign of Achaiz, or AD 4726. The Olympian dating was introduced to organize the information about the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and weave it into the main historical account. It is worth mentioning that neither Synkellos, nor Theophanes use the Olympian dating and this supplementary chronological line stops in fact at the Resurrection.

The second part of the compilation differs from the first by the number of the chronological observations and their frequency. In the historical account from the Creation of the world to the Resurrection of Christ, such chronological digressions appear in average every two folios, whereas in the entire following part there are only two of them. The latter could be explained by the different chronological scope of the two parts—the first covering more than five and a half millennia, the second a period of about three hundred years. The limited number of such digressions also reveals a different approach to reporting events—the first part synthesizes the whole pre-Christian history of the world in 50 folios (100 pages) as evidence of the fulfillment of God's providence, whereas the second one gives a detailed account of events during the first three centuries of Christianity before it became an official religion. The chronological concept of the second part reflects the calculations of Synkellos and the dates of the main events do not correspond to Africanus'.

In addition to the date of Creation (ספ'ק אגאנא) Synkellos introduces another dating scheme: the fall of the Jewish Kingdom and the destruction of Jerusalem that took place in the second year of Vespasian. As a result, each date in his final chronological observations on Jewish history on fol. 466^v is replaced within this chronological frame and the sum of the years before it (the date is calculated from Adam) and the years after it (from the fall of Jewish Kingdom) equals 5567. Such an approach to dating is totally inconsistent with that observed in the first part of the chronological compilation, where dates are calculated from the Creation and intermediate periods are sums with symbolic meanings.

The fitting together of the two parts of the compilation is rather mechanical: the chronology of the Resurrection marks the end of the Africanus' excerpt and starts with Africanus' date (year 5531), but ends with Synkellos' date for the Resurrection (5534). This is followed by Synkellos' account, in which calculations, however, follow Africanus' dating system (fol. 458^r in Undolskiy). The same applies to the date of the Flood (2262 according to Africanus), which was merely replaced with Synkellos' date (2242), but without correction of the supporting calculations. This phenomenon occurs invariably in the entire second part of the compilation. The two parts also record different versions of the story of Herod Agrippa (455^r, l. 11–455^v, l. 2 and 460^r, l. 26–461^v, l. 12).

The editorial intervention of the compiler in the first part mainly consisted in eliminating the pre-Olympic history of all ancient nations except for the Jews. The twelve references to Africanus as to the authority of some historical entries reveal a strong editorial voice. They serve as a connection between the first and the second part, in which Africanus is mentioned twice by Synkellos as a prominent historian and the author of

14. See Africanus' chronology as reconstructed in *Africanus - Lives*, pp. 100-1.

both the *Chronography* and the *Kroto*.¹³ As we shall see, it is hard to say whether editorial interventions in the second part, mainly focusing on reducing redundant entries, were from the compiler or from the Slavonic translator.¹⁴

Already the discoverer of the compilation, V. Urdolskiy (1816–11) identified the excerpt from Theophanes' *Chronicle* at the end of its second part.¹⁵ The excerpt begins at AM 5777, thus continuing Synkellos' account. It covers the whole reign of Diocletian and the first twenty years of Constantine the Great, until the *vicennalia* coinciding with the foundation of Constantinople. There is no indication of the authorship of the excerpt, as there is no reference to either Africanus or Synkellos as authors of the previous parts of the compilation. The Slavonic text represents an abridged version of Theophanes' narrative as known from de Boor's edition. The editorial interventions affect both the chronology and the content. It is not always possible to attribute them with certainty to the Greek compiler or to the Slavonic translator.

There is for example an obvious effort to uniform the dating in the excerpts of Synkellos and Theophanes, which led to the following results. First, our text usually records the whole duration of the reign of both rulers and bishops. Constantine's reign is given thirty-one years and a half, which seems to indicate the use of a different Greek source. Nisiphorus' *Chronographia brevis*, for example, gives Constantine thirty-one years. This short chronicle was translated in Bulgaria in the early 10th century as part of a Byzantine legal compilation, the *Kormičaja kniga*.¹⁶ Secondly, unlike Synkellos, Theophanes usually reports this kind of chronological data not in the body of the text, but separately, in a rubric which precedes each yearly entry.¹⁷ In the Slavonic excerpt only the years of the emperors are usually recorded in a similar fashion at the beginning of each entry, as, e.g., at fol. 482, l. 24: *ѿкъ дѣлаєтѣ а҃ктѣ*, or at 483: *ѿкъ дѣ а҃ктѣ а҃нѣа҃нѣа҃нѣ*. Thirdly, the succession of the rulers and bishops, which was regularly recorded by Theophanes, is here left out with two exceptions: Sabores is presented as the sixth emperor of Persia under the 19th year of Diocletian and the second bishop of Jerusalem is mentioned under AM 5815.

The Slavonic text does not provide enough evidence to state that the rubrication was consciously reproduced in its Greek original, yet it must have been present at some stage, as is illustrated by the line *εἰς τὸν ἔτος αἰ. αἰ. αἰ. αἰ. αἰ. αἰ. αἰ. αἰ. αἰ.* at fol. 482, l. 24.

Thus the numeral *αἰ.* (500) seems to be the result of the merging of the year of the incarnation *αἰ.* (500) with the "fourth" year of Diocletian, *αἰ.*. The numeral *αἰ.* (11) for the reign of Valerian must again stem from the faulty merging of *αἰ.* (1) and the following numeral *αἰ.* (10) years of Valerian, whereas the following indication of the (16) years of the bishop of Jerusalem, Hieronymus, was divided mechanically into two different numerals, *αἰ.* and *αἰ.*. And the two four numbers that correspond to the 4 names listed before the emperor Augustus, the year of the *vicennalia* (400) merged with the fourth year of the

emperor and continues with the numbers 5 and 10, perceived as a single number *αἰ.* (15). It looks as if the compiler or the translator decided in advance which entries were to be preserved; the appointment of Maximianus Herculius as co-emperor in the fourth year of Diocletian, the accession of Narses in his fifth year and the appointment of Constantius and Maximianus Galerius as caesars in the tenth. The changes in the numerals, however, could have occurred only on Slavic soil, and for two reasons. First, this rubrication does not appear any further in the excerpt, which suggests that it appeared meaningless to the Slavonic translator or copyist. Secondly, the numerals for 11–19 in both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabets are written with one letter for the units followed by the letter for "10," which probably led to the interpretation of the Greek numerals *αἰ.*, *αἰ.*, as one number, *αἰ.*, and, viceversa, of the Greek *αἰ.*, as two separate numbers, *αἰ.* *αἰ.*.

A number of episodes and passages of the Greek Theophanes are not found in the Slavonic text. Omissions are also frequent in the Synkellos section. The Slavonic version does not include: the triumph of Diocletian and Maximian Galerius before their abdication (Theoph., p. 10, 14–7); Constantine's order to report the water level of Nile in the church instead of the temple of Serapis (p. 16, 24 ff.); the second part of the narrative about Arius, which Theophanes placed under the 17th year of Constantine (p. 17, 14–22); the mention of the heretics who doubted Constantine's baptism (p. 18, 2–5); the complete genealogy of Constantine (pp. 18, 8–19, 24) followed by the entry about Licinius (pp. 19, 25–21, 19). The lists of bishops are also substantially reduced. Only three Roman bishops are mentioned (Marcellinus) under AM 5786, Miltiades under AM 5789, and Silvester under AM 5797 and 5804), three bishops of Alexandria (Theonas under AM 5777, Peter under 5786, and Alexander under 5802 and 5804), two of Antioch (Tyrannos under AM 5777 and "Eusebious," corrupted from "Eustathius" under AM 5807). A bishop of Jerusalem is mentioned without name under the same year. Starting with AM 5810, only the bishops of Byzantium are listed. Ironically, the name of the first bishop, Metrophanes, is corrupted, whereas a further one is referred to only as the *second bishop of Byzantium*.

The errors and omissions in chronology and content are interdependent, i.e. the omission of regnal or episcopal years caused the omission of some names and viceversa, and the expunction of some episodes caused shifts in dating. This resulted in the following discrepancies:¹⁸

	Compilation	Theophanes
1	10 th year of Diocletian	9 th and 10 th years of Diocletian
2	12 th year of Diocletian (AM 5789)	12 th (AM 5788) and 13 th (AM 5789) years of Diocletian
3	16 th year of Diocletian	17 th year of Diocletian
4	17 th year of Constantine the Great	18 th year of Constantine the Great
5	20 th year of Constantine the Great (AM 5815)	19 th (AM 5815) and 20 th (AM 5816) years of Constantine the Great

As a consequence, even important events such as the baptism of Constantine or his *vicennalia* are listed under different years. The merging of Constantine's 19th and 20th years produced another important difference: Constantine's *vicennalia* and the Council of

13. The table does not record the deviations caused by scribal errors or straying from the hypothetical Glagolitic prototype, commented upon below.

14. See below for a discussion of Constantine's reign (quoted n. 2), pp. 588 f.

15. V. Urdolskiy, *Opisanie knig i listov* (Leningrad, 1816), p. 588 f.

16. V. Urdolskiy, *Opisanie knig i listov* (Leningrad, 1816), p. 588 f.

17. See below for a discussion of Constantine's reign (quoted n. 2), pp. 588 f.

18. The table does not record the deviations caused by scribal errors or straying from the hypothetical Glagolitic prototype, commented upon below.

The *Verb* may be corrupted too. The expected stress of *formando*, *spemando* is placed at the beginning of the sentence, in the nominative.

The following information was obtained from the records of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health Services Administration, Division of Health Planning and Resources Development, Bureau of Health Statistics, Office of Health Statistics Research and Analysis, Office of Health Statistics Research and Analysis, Office of Health Statistics Research and Analysis.

and the following conditions are satisfied:

be that you (the emperor) ordered us to destroy the Chinese churches, burn the sacred books and hand over the altar and all the Christians to justice. This was the most heinous persecution of all, probably counted among the worst of them ever for a king.

and 1994). In the twentieth century, the rise of the novel, the cinema and the mass media, together with the rise of the novel, the cinema and the mass media, gave up their own and created private space. The novel, the cinema and the mass media, together with the rise of the novel, the cinema and the mass media, gave up their own and created private space. The novel, the cinema and the mass media, together with the rise of the novel, the cinema and the mass media, gave up their own and created private space.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

ПРЕДСТАВЛЯЮЩИЕ ПАНСИОНАТОВ
СЛУЖБОВИКИ ДИНАМИКА
ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫХ И ЧАСТНЫХ
УЧРЕЖДЕНИЙ РАЙОНОВ
И ГОРОДОВ. ДА ДИНАМИКА
И ДИНАМИКА

severity of Diocletian and the
 persecutions of Maximianus
 and contrasted his kindness
 with the evil deed of those
 [men], from which they
 had escaped because of this
 Constantius. He had a good
 life there and died in Britain
 after ruling eleven years. Still
 in life he appointed his own
 first-born son Constantine to
 succeed him as emperor in the
 presence of the entire army,
 though he had other sons, that
 were brothers to Constantine,
 namely Constantius and
 Anabalbanus, also called
 Plautianus, who were born to
 Herkulius' daughter Theodora.
 For Constantine was born by
 his first wife Helena. Their
 father Constantius was the
 son of the emperor Claudius'
 daughter, while Galerius was
 Diocletian's son in law, being
 married to his daughter. Next
 Galerius Maximianus went
 to Italy and appointed two
 Caesars. He placed his own son
 Maximianus in charge of the
 East and Severus in charge of
 Italy. But the troops in Rome
 proclaimed Maxentius, son
 of Maximianus Herkulius as
 emperor in Rome. As a result
 Herkulius, eager for the throne,
 once again, attempted to strip
 his own son Maxentius of the
 royal garments and to kill his
 son in law Constantius (read
 Constantine) by treachery.
 But he was hindered in the
 attempt against his son by the
 troops, and after his daughter
 Fausta testified against him,
 he was killed by his evil act.
 Eusebius Pamphilos states that
 Diocletian, having taken leave
 of his senses, retired from the
 throne along with the gods
 and took up a private life. As

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Senate, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the Senate. It contains the following text:

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the House. It contains the following text:

3. The third part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Senate, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the Senate. It contains the following text:

4. The fourth part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the House. It contains the following text:

5. The fifth part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Senate, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the Senate. It contains the following text:

6. The sixth part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the House. It contains the following text:

7. The seventh part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Senate, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the Senate. It contains the following text:

8. The eighth part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the House. It contains the following text:

9. The ninth part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Senate, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the Senate. It contains the following text:

10. The tenth part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, dated January 1, 1861. The letter is signed by James Buchanan and is addressed to the House. It contains the following text:

while from him. He was so
 exhausted trying to satisfy
 the demon that he refrained
 from eating anything without
 the support of divination.
 He ordered total destruction
 of the Christians not so
 much because of his own
 impotence as to plunder their
 property. Divine retribution
 befell him because of his
 enormous licentiousness and
 the terrible harm he did to
 the Christians. For his organ
 developed a grievous ulcer and
 a lot of matter went out of it.
 The suffering was greater than
 even so of physicians, because
 the ulcers were opened and
 worms were born; for he
 was very obese. He, realizing
 what he had done, this ulcer
 because of his inaction wrote
 sentences to all places un-
 usually of the Christians,
 bidding them all live as they
 wished and used and to pray
 in his behalf. When this had
 happened his worst suffering
 was immediately relieved
 beyond his hopes by the
 Christian prayer but only the
 wound was healed entirely,
 he began to rage at the nature,
 continuing with his lawless
 lawlessness and even
 demanding more and more
 slaves and plunder, so that
 his army was sufficient to
 cover the whole and abundant
 supplies distributed, and
 even the sun itself as they
 say, began to shine only
 once a month and many of
 the Christians remained in

Σιλουανὸς ὁ ἐπισκοπὸς Γόζης
 Ἀσσυρίων· ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς Ἀντωνίου
 Ζηνοβίου· τριεσβύτην·
 Σιδωνοῦ· Πάμφιλου·
 πρεσβύτερος· Καισαρείας·
 καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναριθμητοὶ, οὗτοι
 ὁ Γαλλᾶριος Μαξιμιανὸς
 γυναικόμενός τε· ἡ
 τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν τελευτῶντας μελετῶν, ποί-
 κρῶσσι τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός,
 ἐκτετηκώς καὶ τῇ τῶν κλάσσε-
 δαιμόνων ἀπάτῃ, ὥς μὴ
 ἀνέχεσθαι τινος γενεασθῆναι
 ἄνευ μοντείας, οὕτως
 πανωλεθρίον Χριστιανῶν
 γενέσθαι προσέταξεν, οὐ
 τοσοῦτον διὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ
 ἀσέβειαν, ὅσον διὰ τὴν
 ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 αὐτῶν, τοῦτον οὖν θεῖα δίκη
 μετέλθε διὰ τὴν ἄμετρον
 ἀκολασίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῖς
 Χριστιανοῦς ἀνέποιστον
 κακοσίαν, χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἔλκος
 κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας
 σώματι μῆριον ἐκφυγεῖν
 κρείττον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης
 βοηθείας ἐτόγγανεν, νομῆς
 καταλαβοῦσης καὶ σκολήκῳ
 σφοδρᾶς τοὺς τόπους, ἦν
 γὰρ καὶ πολύσαρκος, οὕτως
 ὑπολαβὼν, ὥς ἄρα διὰ τοὺς
 ἀδίκους φόνους πέπληκται,
 προστάγματα κατὰ παντός
 τόπου ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐγγραψί-
 πόν· κελεύειν καταθυμῶς
 πράττειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 ἀδυσθῆναι εἰς γεννώτος, εὐθείας
 τοῦ χαλεποτάτου πάθους
 εἰς τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν
 θανατοφονίαν, παρ' ἐλπίδας
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τριούρου
 καὶ ὡς συνουλώσαντος,
 αἰεζόμενος, ἐμαίνετο τῶν
 σφαιρίων ἐχόμενος πρόξενος
 ὅλα· τοῦτος πάλιν πόλεμος
 καὶ ἐπικρατούσας, λίμναι
 καὶ λίμναι καὶ λίμναι
 ὁμοῦ ἐπίσκηπτων, ὥς μὴ
 ἦσαν ὁμοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος,

[illegible]

[AM 5799]. Alexander, bishop
of Alexandria 23 years.

[AM 5802]. In the sixth year Constantine the Great set about the dissolution of the tyrants. The impious Maxentius, having built a bridge of ships over the river, which flows through Rome, drew up his forces against Constantine the Great. The great Constantine feared the sorcery of Maxentius, who cut up new-born babies for his divination. While he was in great distress, there appeared to him at the sixth hour of the day the sacred Cross made of light, with the inscription "In this conquer." And the Lord appeared to him in a vision when he was asleep, saying, "Use what has been shown to you and conquer." Then, having devised a golden cross, which exists to this day, he ordered it to be carried forward into battle. When the battle was joined, many of those with Maxentius perished. Maxentius fled with the survivors but the ships broke apart and all got drowned, just as long ago the Lord had sent to the bottom

τους τεθνεώτας κεραιώνει τη
και φόβηται εξ αποσταλλέντου,
ὡς ἴκυσται ἐν αὐτῷ μόνου
φροντίζειν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
τῶν προσπιγμάτων ἔκρυπται
διημέρειν.

1. *Επικριτική* (criticism) - *Επικριτική* (criticism)

Αναξάνορος, επώνυμο. Αγαλλία,
ἥτοι ὁ

6. 5. 1978

Ἀλλ' ἔσον ὄφρ' ἔπι σκεπῆσθαι
Ἀλλ' ἔσον ὄφρος ἐπὶ σκεπῆσθαι

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0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

— 42 —

[illegible]
$$\xi', \eta, \epsilon', \delta, \mu$$

Τούτω τῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θειοτάτος εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων διανέστη κατάλυσιν. Μαζέντιος δὲ ὁ δυσσεβὴς καυσὶ γεγυρώσας τὸν παριφρέοντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποταμὸν παρετάξατο κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, ὁ δὲ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἐδεδίδει τὰς Μαζεντίου γοητείας βρέφει ἰνατερόντος διὰ μαντικίας ἀθεμίτους, ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ἀγωνίᾳ ὄντι ὤφθη αὐτῷ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἑκτῇ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ τέριος σταυρὸς ἐκ φωτὸς κατεσκευασμένος, ἔχον ἐπιγραφὴν "ἐν τούτῳ νίκα." ἐπιστὰς δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἐν ὀράματι τῆς νυκτός "χρῆσαι τῷ δειχθέντι σοι καὶ νίκα." τότε σταυρὸν σχεδιάσας χρύσειον, ὃς ἔστι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἐκέλευσε προάγειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἠετήθησαν οἱ περὶ τῶν Μαζέντιον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἀνηρῶντο. Μαζέντιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς φεύγων, τῆς γυφύρος θείᾳ δυνάμει διηρραγέθη, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καταπνικνύεται, ὡς πᾶσι Φαδμῷ πυνανταί, οὗτοι

...and the ... of the ...

with the ... of the ...

...and the ... of the ...

...and the ... of the ...

For if he had not been ...

...and the ... of the ...

...and the ... of the ...

...and the ... of the ...

...and the ... of the ...

...and the ... of the ...

[illegible][illegible]

...иногда ссоры и интриги. И
скажи, что бы случилось, и
после этого и другие дела.

Theophrastus and Patrophilus contended on behalf of Arius and, having put together a blasphemous creed, presented it to the synod. When the synod tore this statement up, those, who had written it, condemned Arius, except for Secundus of Ptolemais in Egypt and Theonas of Marmarika, who were expelled and anathematized with Arius. Then after having written the holy creed all subscribed to it, including the all-pious emperor acclaimed it, and dispersed.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

In the year of that synod Crispus, the emperor's son, a Christian, died. Also the city of Byzantium began to be built. The Synod was held in the twentieth year of the most Christian emperor Constantine on 21st [sic] of May. The synod wrote a letter to the citizens of Alexandria, Libya, and Pentapolis, in which letter the expulsion of Arius, Secundus and Theonas was announced.

1. ВЪ СЪВѢЩАНІИ ДНІ
 ВЪСТАВЛЕНІИ ІІКО И ТОМОУ
 И ТВОРИТИ СЪ ЖИДЫ ПАСУЮ.
 СЪ СЪ СЪВѢЩАНІИ И ТЛАСКИ. СЪ
 ЖИДЫ ДНІ ПОДЪВЪСТИ. ТАКО
 И ЖИДЫ ДНІ И ТЛАСКИ
 ТАКО СЪ ТОМУ СЪВѢЩАНІИ
 ТАКО СЪ ТОМУ СЪВѢЩАНІИ
 ТАКО СЪ ТОМУ СЪВѢЩАНІИ
 ТАКО СЪ ТОМУ СЪВѢЩАНІИ

The synod also took a decision that Easter was no longer to be celebrated with the Jews, but rather on Sunday as in the Italian rite. Likewise the all-pious emperor sent out a rescript that said the same and ordained to observe all the decisions of the synod not contradicting it, and to

consider Arius along with his supporters excommunicated, and to call them Porphyrians; their writings were to be burned, and the penalty for non-compliance was death. He published also a law enforcing these provisions. As the festival of the *circumcision* of his son came, as we said, he invited all the Fathers to the seat, reclined at dinner with them and honoured them gloriously. He kneeled and kissed Paphnogenus and Macarius and other confessors in their eyes that had been gouged out and their limbs that had been mutilated for their faith, saying "Blessed be those eyes and limbs which have accepted an enormous persecution for Christ." He addressed the bishops, saying "Keep the peace between yourselves and refrain from schism." The persons against the whom, which the heretics had won in the church, he turned in a firm confirming order said "If I were to see a bishop committing adultery, I would surely deliver him in my hands, should he stand or be laid who has desecrated the sanctuary of this church by his sin." The emperor himself gave on all his churches, restored the churches to increase the brightness, and sent them all in this way shining, as the saying was uttered by a philosopher on the grounds for the destruction of property and money in the pursuit of an honourable reputation by becoming the emperor. He was crowned as usual by the patriarch of Constantinople.

ἐκφωνήθη· καὶ ἄρτιον ἡμεῖς ἀνέπροσεν αὐτοῦ ἀποκηρύττειν. Πορφυριανοὺς τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγκάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτῶν κατακείσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὴ τούτο ποιοῦντας θανατοῦσθαι· ἐξεβόη δὲ καὶ κόμην βασιλικὴν σὺν τοῖς γενέσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἐορτῆς ἐνστάσης καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς εἰκοσαετηρίδος τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, πάντες τοὺς πατέρας τῆς ἰουδαίου προετρέψαντο, συγκρατηθεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ λαμπρῶς τιμήσας αὐτούς· Παφνουτίου δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὁμολογητῶν τοὺς ἐξομυχθέντας ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ πηρωθέντα μέλη ἐν τῇ διωγμῷ κατεφίλει, ἁγισμὸν ἔξ αὐτῶν ποριζόμενος, παρήγει δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπισκόποις εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ τῶν κυτὰ τοῦ πλησίον λοιδοριῶν ἀπέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λιβέλλους, οὓς κατ' ἑλλησάντας ἐπιδεδιόνασιν, πυρὶ κατέκαιον· ὅρκω βεβαιῶν, ὡς, εἰ ἴδοι ἐπίσκοπον μοιχεύοντα, τῇ πορφυρίδι σκέπειν τοῦτον προθύμως, πολλὰ δὲ πόσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις διωρησάμενος· καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τῶν ἑθνῶν τιμῶν τοὺς ἱερεῖς παρακτελίσσμενος· χαίρωντας σπανίως ἐξαπέστείλειν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλῆας ὑπὸ φιλοσύμφων Ἑλλήνων ἀνειδισθέντας (ὃν βασιλεὺς, ὡς οὐ πρίναι καλῶς παρὰ τῷ ἔθνη τῶν βασιλέων Ρωμαίων, νεώτερόν τι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεὶ ἔνθα τὸν φιλοσύμφων ἀνελόντορ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ διαλεχθῆναι κατ' αὐτοῦ παραπέμψαι) ὡς ἀλλεξάνδρος· θέτας μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸν διηλεκτικὸν φιλοσύμφωνον βασιλεὺς τούτον ἀποστείλας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Ἰησοῦν Ἀριστὶν καὶ

him. Bishop Alexander was a holy man, but lacking in education. To the philosopher, who was talking nonsense, he said "I order you in the name of Jesus Christ our God to be quiet and not to talk," and as soon as he had said that the philosopher's speech stopped and he became silent. The emperor ordered Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the synod, to search out on his return the site of the holy Resurrection and that of Golgotha of the skull and the life-giving wood. In the same year he crowned Helena, his god-minded mother, and assigned to her as empress the privilege of coinage. She had a vision which ordered her to go to Jerusalem and to bring to light the sacred sites which had been buried by the impious. She begged her son to fulfil these commands sent to her from God. And the emperor acted as his mother wanted. The great emperor wanted to build a city on the plain looking to the East [sic] above the tomb of Ajax where, so the say, the Greeks had established their anchorage.

ἐξελθόντες θεοῦ ἀποστόλων καὶ μὴ
ἐπιβήσασθαι." ὅροι δὲ τῷ λαῷ
ἐφωκίσθη καὶ γέγονεν συνέλευσις.

τῷ δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσόλυμων
Μικχαρίῳ παρόντι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ
προσέτιξεν ὁ βυσιλῆς,
ἐπιπλέοντι ἐργασῆσαι τὸν τόπον
τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως καὶ τὸν
τοῦ κρανίου Γολγοθᾶ καὶ τὸ
ξωποιοῦν ἑξῶν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ
ἔπει Ἑλένην, τὴν θεύφρονα
αὐτοῦ μητέρα, ἔστρεψε
καὶ μονήρειν ὡς βασιλίδι
ἀπένειμεν. αὕτη δὲ ὁράσειαν
εὔρακε κελεύουσιν αὐτῇ
καταλαβεῖν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα
καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ ἀνόμων
καταχωσθέντας· θεῖους
τόπως εἰς φῶς ἀγαγῆν. ἡ
δὲ τὸν πεῖθαι Κωνσταντῖνον
ῥηήσασα τὰ θεῖθεν αὐτῇ
κελευσθέντα πληρώσας, ὁ δὲ
τὴν ὑπακοήν πεποίηκεν. θηρ-
αὶ λέοντες κισσοῖς, ὁ εἰσπεβῆς
Κωνσταντῖνος πόλιν εἰς ἴδιον
ὄνομα κτίσας βαυλῆθεις ἐν τῷ
πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδίου ὑπὲρ τὸν
Αἰάκτος τέφρον, οὗ ἀῆ φασί
τὸν νεύσταθμον ἔσχηκεναι
τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν σφραγισμένους,
Ἑλλήνας θύας κατ' ἀνθρώπων
ἐκείνων ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κτίσας
τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολι.

average maximum winds of 45 kt or more were 100%.

The Mayan translator was visibly not familiar with the response. *Itz'at* and possessed it as a form of *Itz'at* "sun," but also "place where the sun rises," i.e. the East. I needed for the end of the chronicle in Und.

THEOPHANES
AND EARLY BYZANTINE HISTORY

THE FIRST HALF OF THEOPHANES' CHRONICLE

by Roger Scott

Theophanes' chronicle¹ covers the period 284–813 and was put together only shortly after 813 since Theophanes was dead by 818 at the latest and probably by March 817.² The main interest in it arises from its being our main narrative source for the seventh and eighth centuries. My interest is, however, in the early part up to 602 for much of which we have Theophanes' sources. Since we do have these sources, we obviously do not turn to Theophanes as a source and so the questions we ask about the chronicle are necessarily different from those asked about the second part. For since we do possess Theophanes' sources, we can observe how he uses them. Though for the most part Theophanes simply repeats his sources almost verbatim (Cyril Mango's "dossier"), he also manipulates these sources in various ways to produce his own interpretation of history. That interpretation can be summed up as showing (not surprisingly) that God rewards pious orthodoxy and punishes heresy. The paper will examine how Theophanes achieves this while still remaining loyal to the wording of his sources that at times imply something rather different from what Theophanes' narrative suggests. So the paper will also look at problems Theophanes confronted in dealing with (and exploiting) his sources, particularly in his account of Justinian.

1. The paper contains nothing that is not included somewhere in my previous publications, especially my joint translation with Cyril Mango and in two articles: Writing the reign of Justinian: *Medievalizing* Theophanes, in *The sixth century: end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 10), Brisbane 1996, pp. 20–34, and "The events of every year arranged without confusion": Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire. La littérature de l'historiographie: actes du III^e colloque international philologique IFAMHNEA, Nancy, 6–7–8 mai 2004, organisé par l'EHESS et l'université de Chypre, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Nappi et M. Hinterberger* (Dossiers byzantins 6), Paris 2006, pp. 49–65. My only excuse for publishing it here is that it may, with editorial support, be considered convenient to have this material available among a series of papers devoted to Theophanes. Since I am repeating material published elsewhere, I have not hesitated to copy and paste that material verbatim, arguably imitating Theophanes' technique. References to Theophanes are by "ast" to *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, and to Mango-Scott. Where the "ast" entry exceeds a page in length I include a page reference to de Boor.

2. C. Vasileta-Vener, *En quelle année mourut S. Théophane le Chronographe?* *Archiv* 31, 1912, pp. 105–56; Mango-Scott, pp. 1–11.

It is, however, still worth pointing out that the early part of Theophanes does have some internal order. There are places where we do not have Theophanes' source. In those places Theophanes is valuable partly for the information he preserves and partly as a witness to earlier writers whom we know Theophanes has used. For instance some of the fragments attributed to the fifth-century historian Priscus in fact come from Theophanes, and the same is true for Eustathios of Epiphaneia,⁵ and most particularly for the anonymous *Chronicle of Malalas*. But these and other instances where Theophanes provides valuable information are outside the scope of this paper.⁶

On Theophanes' use of sources there are two general views. Cyril Mango maintains that the *Chronicle* is essentially a dossier or file of a large number of passages from earlier writers, which he (or George Synkellos) had copied almost word-for-word and which he arranged in a suitable order—and perhaps just changed a few words here and there as he joined these passages together.⁷ By this view Theophanes really wrote very little but simply put together this collection of other writers' words, and consequently made little or no attempt at interpretation. On the other hand the Russian scholar Chichurov has argued that Theophanes not only adapted material but did so in a way that shows him being skilful in classical writing in history, especially in his preface where he shows his personality, and that he was able to rewrite material like any educated classical writer.⁸

My own position is a sort of compromise (a dossier with adaptations) but I am very much closer to Professor Mango's position. I would like to stress this closeness because but I must warn of those Theophanes' adaptations and his ability to manipulate the material in his sources, despite usually copying it verbatim. Certainly in my view Theophanes' adaptations are quite different from the kind Chichurov finds and owe greatly nothing to the classical tradition of historiography. What I shall be arguing is that Theophanes, although at times he simply compiles a collection of other writers' passages, still compiles these passages enough to impress on them his own interpretation of events. Thus I shall argue that Theophanes, despite providing a file of earlier writers' words, nevertheless still interferes with his sources in such a way that he presents a quite different interpretation of the past from that given by his sources.

Theophanes' approach is rigorously annalistic, i.e. it consists of year-by-year notices of what the author considered important or at least of what he could find for any given year. This remains true whether or not the complex chronographic information listed at the opening of each year in all except the earliest manuscripts was Theophanes' own contribution or was a later addition, perhaps at the instigation of his descendant, the empress Zoe Carbonopsina.⁹ Once such a rigorous system is adopted, the chronicler is forced to assign to a specific year any information he wants to include in his chronicle. A vague "during the reign of the emperor Constantine" for example will no longer do. The chronicler must decide on a specific year for every item he includes. Various questions arise from this. First, since Theophanes' sources usually do not provide specific dates for their information, how did Theophanes decide to allocate specific dates (and is he reliable)? Second, how well equipped was Theophanes to understand the sources he used, often written some centuries before him in various levels of Greek? Could he understand classicising and earlier Greek? Third, what degree of historical acumen did he bring to his task?

But before going on to discuss these questions, I want to emphasise, as Cyril Mango has also done, the enormity of the task faced by Theophanes and George Synkellos and the greatness of their achievement. Professor Mango does not often give praise to Byzantine writers so his emphasis on Theophanes' achievement needs noting. "The *Chronicle* of Synkellos, combined with 'Theophanes', represents the greatest achievement of Byzantine historical scholarship and presupposes the utilisation of a vast body of material, much of which would have been otherwise unknown to us."¹⁰ I also particularly want to emphasise that achievement and the difficulties the chroniclers faced, since much of the rest of this paper will be drawing attention to Theophanes' shortcomings, which are also manifold.

ABILITY TO COPE WITH LANGUAGE OF HIS SOURCES

I want to look first at levels of language as evidence of his education and ability to cope with his sources. What can this tell us about him as an historian? Two of his sources, Procopius and Theophylact Simocatta, wrote in a classicising Greek style which was complicated and presumably far removed from contemporary ninth-century spoken Greek. In general Theophanes seems aware that the language of these writers needs some simplification for his readers though for the most part he copies verbatim. When these authors, particularly Theophylact Simocatta, are forced into using a non-literary term for which they apologize, Theophanes will accept the term without apology. For instance he refers to *κρόστος* (AM 6092), an aromatic herb used in the preparation of unguents, and *ταυλῶδον*, "baggage" (AM 6078). In both cases, Theophanes' source is Theophylact and in each case Theophylact in a way apologizes to his readers for using an unclassical word¹¹

⁵ As discussed elsewhere in this volume by F. Rostkowski (chronographic information) and I. Naves (Constantine (Zoe Carbonopsina)).

⁶ Mango, *Who wrote the Chronicle*, p. 17.

⁷ Theoph. Sim., II, 4.1, "the Persian baggage, which the Romans in their savage tongue inappropriately call *ταυλῶδον* (*taulōdon*)" transl.: *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (in English transl. and introduction and notes by M. and M. Whitby, Oxford 1986, p. 17, VII, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

and he is writing "History," but Theophanes, who is writing a chronicle, has no need to apologise for his vocabulary. That is the difference in the genres.

Of course there are examples from the Psalms. So at AM 6094 (p. 286), Theophanes makes a simple and more biblical substitution for Theophylact Simocatta's high-flown language. Faced with Simocatta's "an avaricious manner brings forth nothing good: hence is a model of evils,"¹⁰ which evidently impressed Constantine Porphyrogenetos who also preserves this for his encyclopaedic collection on sayings (περί γυγναικας). Theophanes produces "avarice gives birth to nothing good but is the mother of all evils." This is presumably based on 1 Timothy 6. "The love of money is the root of all evil." The point is that the complex, difficult and, in my view and probably also in Theophanes' view, obscure language of Theophylact has been replaced by a phrase based closely on a passage in the New Testament with which his readers would have been familiar—and so could understand. Likewise, also at AM 6094 (p. 290), when Theophanes makes Maurice watch the execution of his children, Theophanes recognizes that his source, again Theophylact Simocatta,¹¹ had attributed to Maurice a paraphrase of Psalm 118 (119), 137, so Theophanes restores the actual words of the psalm.

In these examples, Theophanes' object has been to simplify the difficult language of his source. There are, however, some technical terms he simply does not understand. For instance, *parasang* is beyond him. Technically a *parasang* is a Persian unit of time rather than of distance but Greeks had traditionally used it for distance, estimating it at thirty stades which is about five to six kilometres or three to four miles. And that seems to be how his source, again Theophylact Simocatta, uses it. But it is an obscure word and Theophanes clearly does not know what it means. So first he "translates" thirty parasangs at AM 6085 as thirty miles, but then at AM 6092 twenty parasangs become thirty miles. He clearly had no idea what this obscure word *parasang* was. So he just guessed, though what is a little worrying is not that he guessed wrongly but that he guessed differently as well as wrongly each time.

He had similar difficulties with strange names and also with some Greek particles which were not in frequent use. There is a nice example where Procopius refers to a Goth called Hoamer and follows the name with the particle γοῦν.¹² This is too difficult for Theophanes who at AM 6026, p. 187.231 seems to have taken the ο at the beginning of "Hoamer" to be the definite article and has joined the rest of the name "Amer" with the particle γοῦν to create a new name with a nominative case of Ἀμεργοῦς "Amergous" (with presumably an accusative of "Amergonn"), though elsewhere (pp. 188.4 and 188.10) he calls him "Amer" without apparently realizing this is the same man, the Hoamer of Procopius. He does the same thing in reverse at AM 5782 where he creates a new name of Βασίλισσα of Βαλγρυ, likewise Malalas' Βασίλησσα (XVIII, 13) ("queen Bas" which in the Varian edition of Malala appears as *Bas rex* or King Bas), becomes in Theophanes' version "a woman named Basrex joined the Romans" (AM 6020, p. 175.13). He mentions both names differently within a few lines, but he usually seems to know what he is doing (perhaps he is simply the victim of later scribal error).

But in his account of the Vandal war at AM 6026, which he takes from Procopius, after summarizing a difficult section of Procopius very accurately, he forgets that a character named "Goddas" is already dead and gives an account of a military campaign in which the same Goddas is very much alive on the same page (p. 189). But these are problems of forgetfulness and incompetence as an historian—they are not problems of having misunderstood the Greek. He does, admittedly, have problems with Persian titles, but then most Greek writers did, whether they were writing in the Byzantine, Roman or classical times. There are some minor problems of understanding. At AM 6085 he does not recognize a town in Bulgaria called Asemos which becomes ἐπίσημος, meaning "distinguished" or "leading," which leads to his conflating a Byzantine general's arrival at two different places into a single arrival. He may also have invented an earthquake at AM 5812 where his source probably said that the heretic Arius shook (ἐτάραξε) the Church. Since God sends earthquakes to show His displeasure, when Arius shook the Church, this is turned by Theophanes into God shaking the earth, hence an earthquake.

These are relatively minor errors for determining the level of his knowledge of Greek or his level of education. More worrying are the places where he does not understand his sources and gets it wrong. There are several examples from Theophylact Simocatta whose Greek can be very difficult (some are discussed below), and fewer from Procopius whose Greek is generally more straightforward. But even for Malalas, whose Greek is usually so simple, he sometimes gets it wrong. For instance Theophanes adds to modern scholarship's problem in understanding the meaning of *limes*, where he simply does not understand Malalas' use of *limes*, which he adapts with his own terminology which unfortunately sometimes appears in the modern literature.¹³

At AM 6020 Theophanes takes over Malalas' account of Justinian's inheritance laws for clergy and monks.¹⁴ This is one of the few places where Malalas' Greek is complicated and so Theophanes appears to have attempted to simplify it and in doing so reveals that he simply has not understood Malalas. Likewise at AM 6088 in his account of Maurice's new deal for soldiers' service conditions, Theophanes simply omits from Theophylact the vital factor which makes sense of the reform. And at AM 6078 he becomes so thoroughly confused by Theophylact's Greek that he turns a single battle into two separate clashes. At AM 6064 (p. 245) he again has made little sense of Theophylact, resulting in his giving a misleading version of events. In all these examples Theophanes appears not to be able to cope with Theophylact's complicated syntax and vocabulary.

There are other occasions where he varies Theophylact though he clearly understands Theophylact's version. So at AM 6092 he omits Theophylact's support for the Avar Khagan's accusations against Maurice. Theophylact notes that the Khagan "accused the emperor of rocking the peace, and his words were not wide of the mark: for in fact the Romans, as counterfeiters of peace and artificers of war, fell into the previously recounted misfortunes."¹⁵ Maurice is for the most part a good emperor in Theophanes, so Theophanes does not let his readers hear Theophylact's agreement with the accusations made against Maurice. More interestingly at AM 6081, after the Persian king Chosroes

13. E.g. at AM 6021 with discussion of the passage at Masao – Scott p. 272–3.

14. Mal., XVIII, 11.

15. Theoph. Sim., VII, 15.13, transl. Whibly p. 201.

had captured his throne with Byzantine help. Theophylact describes this as a glorious conclusion to the campaign.¹² This is too much for Theophanes' patriotism, so he substitutes for this a reference to Maurice's "great love for the barbarians," a love which Gregory obviously Theophanes does not share.

Generally, Theophanes' level of Greek writing is quite pedestrian. Just occasionally we find a sign of literary inventiveness, which probably is not welcome in a chronicler. We find Theophanes' rare attempts at literary inventiveness actually do not affect his reliability. This is an odd case where Theophylact had described Hormisdas' character rather viciously. Theophanes turns the description into a speech which he attributes to Hormisdas' enemy, Justin. He does the same thing a little later at AM 6094 where he transfers two sentences of narrative into a speech. In both cases this is effective. The only other example I have noticed is about two hundred pages earlier at AM 5867, where he does the same thing for Valentinian, turning into direct speech Valentinian's final outburst of temper which led to his last heart attack. For the historian the fact that there is a gap of 200 pages between examples of literary inspiration is probably reassuring. More reassuring is that in these examples Theophanes is still faithful to the wording of his source and the information

There are, however, a very few places where Theophanes appears to have changed a word in his source for no apparent reason. This has sometimes tempted scholars to draw such as Theophanes' conservatism and accuracy and so ascribe the supposed error to a scribe. But when all the manuscripts and the early Latin translation by Anastasius, the *papa liberarius*, are in total agreement, it is more likely that Theophanes made the change and did so quite deliberately. Let me give two examples of what I see as deliberate *diacrisis* (though the first one does not involve Anastasius). Theophanes gives the cause of the Nika riot as follows at wt 6024 (p. 184.3): "A pretext for a faction riot was offered by some officials." For officials he uses *μεϊστορες*.¹⁷ His source, Malalas has *κακοὶ*, "wretched spirits" or perhaps "wretches," and both J. B. Bury and Alan Cameron want to emend this to Theophanes' text.¹⁸ But "officials" provides a better link between the *causa dialogue* and the following narrative than does *ἀλγίστορες*, and is typical of Theophanes' method of compensation, in this case for his complete omission of the sacking of Calpurnius (the city prefect), John of Cappadocia (the praetorian prefect and *tribunus*, the *questor*), which is recorded in all the main versions of the riot. That is, Theophanes omits an important detail from his source, the sacking of officials, but compensates for this by adding another part of his source so that his narrative is still consistent with his source. In this case we admittedly do not have any evidence from Constantine's *Letter "Yes" or "No?"* or *Against* or *At* Anastasius on the Nika riots, but we do simply have a *conservative* manuscript tradition.

A slightly different level of attention occurs in Theophanes' version of Justin II's speech. The emperor is the audience, so say 6070. Justin warns Tiberius to pay

attention to the army but slain "soldiers," $\mu\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\varsigma\delta\epsilon\zeta\eta$. His source, Theophylact, has $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ "sycophants" instead of "soldiers." So de Boor restored "sycophants" to the text here in his excellent edition. But all the manuscripts and Anastasius read "soldiers," so given the unanimity of the manuscript tradition supported by Anastasius' translation, it must surely have been what Theophanes wrote. I can only hazard a guess about his reason. Perhaps Theophanes is stressing the importance of maintaining a strong army while resisting the influence of military men—which I think would also suit his concerns about the iconoclast emperors and the influence soldiers held over them. There are very few places where I would disagree with de Boor's text and almost always it is where de Boor has given credit to Theophanes for following his source when the manuscripts suggest Theophanes has changed his source.¹⁴

DATE CALCULATIONS

It is also worth looking briefly at some of the places where we can perhaps see how he works out dates when his source does not provide a date. For this I have to admit I may be trying to read Theophanes' mind, which is always a risky process. But I think it is worth trying to see how his mind works (or at least how I think his mind worked). At AM 6014 (AD 521/2) we have accounts of earthquakes in Dyrrachium and Corinth and at AM 6017 (AD 524/5) at Edessa and elsewhere. For the first ones, Theophanes has deduced the date sensibly from Malalas but not necessarily accurately. I have discussed the difficulties elsewhere⁴⁰ but the main point is that Malalas does not provide precise dates so Theophanes appears to have tried to work them out from the order of events and his assumptions about hints given in the text. So Theophanes' date does not have independent value. But more intriguing is the earthquake at Edessa, not so much for the date of the earthquake but rather for Theophanes' ability to find a precise date for the following strange incident.

In the same year there appeared a giant-like woman from Cilicia, who surpassed in stature every full-grown man by a cubit and was extremely broad. She travelled round the city and received one follis from each shop. (AM 6017)

Malalas (XVII, 7) places this early in his account of Justin, seemingly in Justin's first year, but the preceding sentence runs: "During his reign hippodromes were provided for the Seleukeians and Isaurians," and the giant from Cilicia is placed in the same year. Since Malalas mentions a little later (XVII, 15) that Edessa was founded by Seleukos and that Justin provided it with many beautiful works, Theophanes appears to have guessed that one of these may have been the hippodrome and this may have been built immediately following the earthquake there. Since Malalas' following sentence (XVII, 16) refers precisely to Justin's seventh year, Theophanes uses this to find a precise date for the female giant instead of Malalas' vague "during his reign." This daring methodology

²⁰ Class 5833, 6044, 6059 with discussion in Maxson & Scott *et al.*

30L. Maspero - Scott, p. 236. Malalas places the two earthquakes after the account of Heron's founding of the Antiochene Olympic games "after the 14th indiction" (i.e. 520/1) to the year 568 (i.e. at Antioch = 519/20). In between Malalas refers to Anatonius being consul (which was probably in 523/4). *RE*, II, p. 841.

and his usual epithet for Valens is impious (δυσσεβής) which he uses for Valens five times, and which he also applies to Valens' Arian patriarch Eudoxios twice. In all of these cases Theophanes has added the epithet to what he found in his source, a source which he has otherwise followed word for word apart from the addition of the colouring material. In all but one of these cases the source is Theodore Lector and since we also have Theodoret's sources, we have an added check that the addition of the epithet is due to Theophanes and it is not a case of faulty transmission of the text. Historians are always inclined to interpret their sources and there is little doubt that in these cases Theophanes' interpretation is consistent with the view of the source that Valens was an Arian and hence that his religious views were impious. But by adding the colouring epithet Theophanes has made it easier for his readers to be sure they are interpreting him correctly. Otherwise Theophanes remains true to his source, usually copying it verbatim or almost so. This happens frequently enough to provide confidence that we are dealing with the wisdom of survival.

However Theophanes does rather more than simply add colour. So at AM 586(4), though the Theophanes add *παράνομος* "illegally," *παράνομος* "illegal," *δυσσεβής* "impious" and *αυτοκρατορ* "autocrat" to Theodore Lector's material, but he also appears to change the subject of the sentence, replacing what he has assumed to be "the orthodox" (though in fact Macedonian heretics) with Valens and the Arian patriarch Eudoxios, here described as "the unholy pair," while at the same time carefully omitting a sentence from Theodore that says Valens could not also persecute the Macedonians. The effect is to change an episode by the Macedonians to gain support from Rome into a devious trick by the Arian pair to deceive the pope:

Valens and his Arian patriarch Eudoxios, when he was baptized by Eudoxios, he confirmed as well as to signify that he was were Arian and that he would not accept the consubstantial and that he would not launch numberless persecutions against the orthodox. They sent the Armenian Eusebion, Silvanus of Tarsus and Theophilos of Kastabala to inform of Rome promising through them that they would accept the consubstantial.

Unmistakably Anastos, the papal librarian also accepts the Macedonians as being heretics, providing here a word for word Latin translation of Theophanes (Anast., AM 58-59, where we can be sure about Theophanes' text or its meaning. So the normal Theophanes and Anastos represent this, it is the unholy pair who deceptively sent the pope of this acceptance of the consubstantial. Yet it is perfectly clear from both Theophanes' and Anastos' sources that the subject of "sent" is not the unholy pair or the Macedonians. It is clear that Theophanes has deliberately misapplied his source to give a misleading impression. Here his source, Theodore Lector, gives Valens details of persecuting a heretical group, the Macedonians. Theophanes, not wanting to give a true and accurate history of the emperor, which results in his identifying the Macedonians as the heretics which in fact usually compels him to distort his source becoming a more accurate than a more accurate Eudoxios attempted to deceive the pope and sending that they were consubstantial.

For the reign of Valens, then, Theophanes' basic technique is to add a hostile epithet to Valens or to any of his supporters, and occasionally restructure sentences in his source which were favourable to Valens in such a way that the favourable element is either neutralised or turned to Valens' detriment. For Valentinian and Valens Theophanes may well have felt a particular need to add colour or to neutralise problems in his sources since in addition to his main source, the thoroughly orthodox Theodore Lector, his supplementary source may well have been an Arian chronicle which does not survive but for which Theophanes is by far the major provider in attempts at its reconstruction.²²

It is one thing to show that Theophanes has coloured his portrayal of Valens in a hostile way. It is another to show that Valens' reign is seen as a failure and that the reason for the failure is Valens' impiety. Although this could be demonstrated, it should be obvious enough to anyone who reads the section on Valens. One example will suffice.

Worse things happened to the orthodox during the period of the impious Valens and Eudoxios than during the pagan persecution. (AM 58611)

Theophanes is, however, rather more explicit in the cases of Zeno and Anastasios to whom he is similarly hostile for their opposition to the Council of Chalcedon. In their two cases he avoids epithets for the most part. Rather we get a generalised statement about their reigns. Twice we are told for Anastasios that he was the one who ruled badly, and Theophanes does this even before his narrative has reached Anastasios' reign. Here in fact it seems that Theophanes uses the expression apparently simply as a way of identifying which Anastasios he is talking about. It is as if he can rely on his audience already having sufficient historical knowledge to be aware that Anastasios was a bad emperor. So at AM 5982 (two years before the reign begins) we are told:

The most orthodox Euphemios drove out of church the silentarius Anastasios, the one who subsequently ruled wickedly as emperor, for being a heretic and of the same persuasion as Eutyches.

Again in the following year (AM 5983), in discussing the election to the patriarchate of Antioch, Theophanes reports that

The other candidates were John the son of Constantine and Ananias the silentarius who <later> ruled wickedly as emperor.

And at his death at AM 6010 there is at least a suggestion of divine intervention.

In the same year on the 9th of April of the 11th indiction Anastos the impious emperor died after ruling for 27 years and 7 months in the year 234 after Diocletian. In his place the pious Justin became emperor, an old and experienced man who, beginning at a younger age, had advanced to the senate, an Illyrian by race. Some say that Anastos, after being struck by a divine thunderbolt, went mad.

²² Marco A. SPOTT, pp. 144-145. Theophanes is represented in AM of the 11th indiction in 740 as a usurper's reconstruction in his edition of Photios. He goes on to say that the Theophanes was obviously successful in planning the Arian aspect of the work which he left to his successors in the 11th indiction. This again is a reminder that Theophanes' work was not only a

to honour these opening and closing comments this picture of Anastasios' failure is somewhat exaggerated.

Anastasios, the law-breaking emperor, and Timothy, the impious bishop of Constantinople, oppressed many and act against the monks, clergy and laity who supported Makedonios; and the result is that many were banished to Oasis in the Thebaid. They sent Timothy's spiritual father and Makedonios' notice of deposition to the bishops in each city to sign, against the heretic rebuffed both, but those of unstable character subscribed to both out of fear of the emperor. (AM 6005, AD 512/3, p. 157)

All the people and priests reviled Anastasios openly as a perjurer. But that lawless man himself noted that there was a law commanding the emperor to commit perjury and to do other matters. Such were the acts of this utterly lawless follower of Mauea. (AM 6006, AD 513/4, p. 161)

But by a summary interpretation of a reign before it is described there is Theophanes' description of Zeno at the outset of his reign.

Zeno ruled alone for seventeen years and two months, including the twenty months of Justin's usurpation. Zeno administered the empire harmfully; in the beginning the Sassanid emperor Shapurian and the Huns Thrace, causing severe damage to the land, while the emperor spent his time on wicked pleasures and unjust deeds. (AM 5966, AD 474, p. 120)

Thus we get the confirmation of (a) Zeno's rule being described as harmful; (b) the land being damaged at military failure and (c) the explanation of the failure being the emperor's wicked pleasures and unjust deeds, which the following narrative makes abundantly clear as the result of his improper religious beliefs.

Since Anastasios' failure as a ruler appears to stem entirely from his opposition to Chalcedon, we get here an example of Theophanes' identification of heresy with failure. There is also a normally an opposite version by which orthodoxy is linked with success. The best example was in Theophanes' account of Constantine the Great, which I have discussed elsewhere.²⁷ It is too complex to go into details here, though perhaps the most intriguing aspect is Theophanes' determination to demonstrate (quite wrongly) that Constantine was baptised early in his reign by pope Sylvester in Rome rather than at Nicomedia as he decided by the Asian bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia.²⁸ It is one of the few times when Theophanes resorts to argument to back up what is in his usually straightforward narrative. But his accounts of Theodosios I and Justin I provide more straightforward examples of linking orthodoxy with [military] success.

In the year Justin became emperor and proved excellent in all respects, being an ardent supporter of the orthodox faith and successful in battle. (AM 6011, AD 518/9, p. 164)

²⁷ The story of Constantine at Nicomedia and Theophanes, in *Notre Constantin – the rhythm of Byzantine history*, ed. J.-P. Morel and G. B. Mordak, Aldershot 1994, pp. 57–71.

and

In this year the emperor Gratian took Theodosios as partner in the empire. He (Theodosios) was a western Iberian by race, of noble birth and admirably capable in war. Being pious and orthodox, he immediately won a victory by force of arms over the barbarians in Thrace. (AM 5871, AD 378/9, p. 66)

For Theodosios it is worth noting that θαυμάσιον περὶ τοὺς πολέμους, "admirably capable in war," and εὐσεβὴς ὢν καὶ ὀρθόδοξος, "being pious and orthodox," are Theophanes' additions to the text in his source.²⁹ So Theophanes' additions are the words which explain Theodosios' success, the success being measured in terms of victory in battle which he can take from his source (Theodore Lector) with a little bit of extra emphasis, but the reason for the success, Theodosios' piety and orthodoxy, is the result of Theophanes' own interpretation. It is piety and orthodoxy that bring success in battle. The interference is significant even if it is slight. But in the case of Justin I, maintaining the picture of Justin's goodness and support of orthodoxy involves Theophanes in tampering with his source in a less acceptable manner.

Theophanes had emphasised the role of Vitalian as a champion of orthodoxy in the latter part of the reign of the heretic Anastasios. And so likewise at the beginning of Justin's reign Theophanes emphasises the links between Justin and Vitalian. Theophanes makes the union of these champions of orthodoxy the first item in his account of Justin.

After Anastasios' death, the aforesaid Vitalian was thoroughly reconciled to Justin the Great, so much so that he received the rank of master of soldiery from Justin and, after coming to Byzantium, was granted a consular procession. He was proclaimed consul and count of the Praesentes and had such influence with Justin that he even ordered Severus to be expelled and put to death. For Vitalian was strongly orthodox. On hearing this, Severus fled and likewise Julian, bishop of Halikarnassos. They went to Egypt where they caused trouble by raising the question of Corruptibility and Incorruptibility. (AM 6011, AD 518/9, p. 165)

So it was rather awkward for Theophanes that his sources pointed out that Justin (or possibly Justinian) murdered Vitalian within the year. So Theophanes takes great care not to attribute the murder of Vitalian to the equally orthodox Justin, even though this involves quite deliberately altering the facts.

In this year Vitalian was murdered by the Byzantines who were furious with him because of the many people he had killed at the time of his uprising against Anastasios. (AM 6012, AD 519/20, p. 166)

Here we can not be exactly sure what Theophanes' source was, but as all our other sources say Vitalian was executed in the palace with some specifying that this was on the orders of either Justin or Justinian, it is quite clear that Theophanes' version here is his own.³⁰ Theophanes has carefully removed the blame from the pious emperor Justin and transferred it to the people of Byzantium in general.

²⁹ The source is Theod. Lect., fr. 225, p. 76, 26–8.

³⁰ The sources are listed at *PLRE*, II, p. 1176.

Theophanes' rather different and complex way of handling source material as Theophanes' source for Theodosios II, his wife Eudokia and his sister Pulcheria, though the same basic principle still applies of linking orthodox piety with success. I am already guilty of doing this rather too often in published articles, so I will only mention an outline here.³³ In Book XIV Malalas somewhat oddly provides two quite separate narratives of Theodosios II, one of which is essentially the romantic and eventually tragic story of Eudokia from her being cast off almost penniless by her father to being rescued by Theodosios and marrying the emperor and finally dying in Jerusalem in disgrace for supposed adultery. The narrative is built around the story of the apple and her friendship with Pulcheria. This is then followed by a second narrative covering the same period but one in which neither Pulcheria nor Eudokia nor Paulinus score a single mention. Malalas' double narrative is certainly odd. Here Theophanes makes use of almost every sentence of Malalas' apple story narrative (apart from anything praising Eudokia) but separates each little bit and combines it with other material (both from Malalas' second narrative and elsewhere) to create a quite different narrative in which Malalas' romantic account disappears entirely and is replaced by a narrative which exonerates the pious Theodosios from responsibility for Eudokia II's rather curious and other misfortunes of his reign. So here we have a very clear example of Theophanes manipulating his source very considerably to create a narrative to fit his own view of the past while still remaining honorably close to the existing and facts of that source. But without Malalas, it would not be possible to imagine Theophanes' skill and just how much he has manipulated his source.

Theophanes' use of Theodosios II

From the very start then of Theophanes' way of presenting the reign of Justinian. For the source and basic narrative Theodoret Lector was Theophanes' basic source but certainly not his sole source. But when Theodoret ended, Theophanes turned to Malalas as the basis for his accounts of Justin I and Justinian and seems to have followed Malalas until Malalas ended.³⁴ He then clearly knows Procopius to whom he turns for just two events, the Nika riots and the embassy to the Himyarites, he makes a lot of use of Procopius' *Vandal War* though that for the most part is a little longer year in Theophanes and clearly covers a lot more than we need for the year in hand and he also knows *Persian War* which he exploits just once again to draw his readers' attention from the calamitous losses in 540 and 541. The point is that Malalas is the main source. What I want to show, however, is that Theophanes does this by plucking large chunks of Malalas' found Malalas' version of the reign of Justinian, which can be shown partly by his occasional use of Procopius, but also by his manipulation of Malalas' material. The reign of Theophanes' Justinian ends up being quite different from the reign of Malalas' Justinian.

³³ I have previously written on Theophanes' use of the famous stories of Theodosios' apple and Eudokia's escape from a convent in *Theophanes: The Byzantine Chronicler*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 115–81; and in *Theophanes: The Byzantine Chronicler*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 115–81. For and context in Byzantine chronography, see *Theophanes: The Byzantine Chronicler*, ed. by L. Macrides, Oxford 2010, pp. 251–62, all reprinted in *Theophanes: The Byzantine Chronicler*, ed. by L. Macrides, Farnham 2010.

³⁴ I have previously written on Theophanes' use of the famous stories of Theodosios' apple and Eudokia's escape from a convent in *Theophanes: The Byzantine Chronicler*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 115–81; and in *Theophanes: The Byzantine Chronicler*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 115–81.

Elsewhere³⁵ I have pointed out that Malalas, despite actually mentioning all four highlights of the reign of Justinian (Hagia Sophia, codification of law, recovery of West, closure of Athenian Academy), produces a narrative in which the picture of Justinian as the great conqueror simply disappears, though the image of him as a builder is perhaps reinforced.³⁶ This in turn will help explain what Theophanes does to Malalas, which is to rearrange Malalas' narrative and introduce select bits of Procopius in such a way as to restore the picture of Justinian as the great conqueror. In short Theophanes needed to alter Malalas' narrative drastically for his ninth-century chronicle so that it demonstrated that piety was rewarded by military success. Theophanes, I believe, needed to do this because of his contemporary problems—the period of Iconoclasm. He wanted to show that impious rulers, such as the Iconoclasts, lost the favour of God and the result was military disaster. But God rewarded good emperors with military success. So Theophanes produced the picture of Justinian the Great that we have accepted, though we have taken our picture from Procopius rather than Theophanes.

Two initial points need to be observed. First Theophanes plays games with Malalas' chronology and his selection of material. Malalas treats the early part of Justinian's reign in great detail with some thirty-two pages of the Bonn edition (thirty in Thurn) needed to cover just four years. Here Theophanes does two things. He omits Malalas' material frequently, excising twenty out of fifty-four items,³⁷ and he shows scant respect for Malalas' chronology, transferring eight of the remaining thirty-four items to a different period and reversing the order of a further two, so that less than half of Malalas' items (twenty-four out of fifty-four) are retained in their correct sequence.³⁸ Of Malalas' next twenty-eight items, still in the period up to AD 532, Theophanes then omits all but two, for both of which he makes major alterations, one being the Nika riot and the other the embassy to the Himyarites of Yemen for which Theophanes makes his most drastic change, postponing it by about forty years to the reign of Justin II (AM 6064).³⁹ So even if, ignoring some obvious difficulties, we assume Theophanes' version of the Nika riots is basically drawn from Malalas, only thirty-six of Malalas' eighty-two items for Justinian's first six years are retained at all with only twenty-five being in their correct sequence. For

³³ Writing the reign of Justinian: Malalas versus Theophanes, in *The sixth century* (quoted n. 1), pp. 20–34.

³⁴ Interestingly the *Suda* only knows of Justinian as a builder, the only indication of militarism being a reference (ultimately drawn from Procopius, *Buildings*) to his famous statue in the Augusteum.

³⁵ By "items" I mean the numbered sections in the Australian translation: *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, a transl. by E. and M. Jeffreys, R. Scott et al. (Byzantina Australiensia 41, Melbourne 1986).

³⁶ Theophanes omits the following items from Malalas Book XVIII: 5: 8–9; 12: 22–4; 26; 28–9; 33; 37; 39–41; 44–5; 47–9. He changes the dates of the following which in Malalas all occur between 527/8 and 530/1: 15 is dated by Theophanes to 542/3; 19 to 535/6; 21 to 538/9; 25 to 532/3; 30 to 523/4 which is a different reign; 43 to 533/4; 46 to 539/40; 51 to 543/4; 53 and 54 are in reverse order (530/1 and 528/9).

³⁷ Theophanes' failure to use Malalas for such a long section (*Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, rec. L. Dindorfii, Bonn 1831, pp. 458–73; Mal., pp. 384–94) has led M. J. Jeffreys to postulate that Theophanes' copy of Malalas had a lacuna here and that possibly the section on the Himyarite embassy had fallen out and was reattached at the end of the chronicle, so explaining its being wrongly dated by Theophanes to Justin II. See M. J. Jeffreys, Appendix: a lacuna in Theophanes' Malalas in *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. by E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990, pp. 268–76, in *Byzantine Studies in Malalas*, ed. by E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990, pp. 268–76, in *Byzantine Studies in Malalas*, ed. by E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990, pp. 268–76. For my explanation see below.

the past hundred years. Malalas is very scanty.¹⁸ Here Theophanes hardly omits a thing. He introduces only relatively minor changes to Malalas' chronology, which, given the length of our record, is remarkably different from his use of Malalas for the opening of Justinian's reign.¹⁹ For the last few years until our manuscript breaks off, Malalas seems to receive more detailed treatment and Theophanes is relatively selective. So overall it looks as if Theophanes felt he had the freedom to be selective for the overcrowded early years of Malalas' Justinian and use some of this excess material to bolster the thin middle years. Since Malalas is scanty, Theophanes' treatment is conservative.

The second preliminary point is that Theophanes saw the reigns of Justin I, Justinian and Tiberius as a period of great success. That in itself points to a difference between the two chroniclers. Malala is a non-judgmental chronicler when it comes to talking about reigns and individuals though he may well have had very pointed views about some matters such as chronology, whereas a feature of Theophanes is his judgemental approach.¹⁰

The most notable single feature of Theophanes' treatment of Justinian concerns the Vandal war. For it Theophanes abandons Malalas apart from using him for his initial date and for a single sentence concerning service to the Gothic war in the middle of his narrative.⁴¹ Apart from a few lines drawn from an unknown source,⁴² the rest of this long narrative is a piece of the new history of Procopius, *Vandal War*. To concentrate the Vandal war into a single narrative Theophanes again abandons the antithetic treatment he uses for the rest of his 500-page chronicle, which covers some 529 years. So the whole war is placed in an entry under 529-530. This is by far the longest account of an entry under a single year in Theophanes, taking up some thirty pages in de Boor's edition of the sixty-eight pages which Theophanes devoted to Justinian's thirty-eight years. The treatment is thus not only vastly out of proportion to the rest of the chronicle as a whole, but it dwarfs the remainder of Justinian's long reign. The effect is clear. The Vandal war is a great victory. And Theophanes makes much of the triumphal ceremony in Constantinople and Theophanes' Justinian becomes a triumphant, conquering emperor.

As we did, however, it is based so closely on Procopius, it is probably one of the least real accounts of Theophrastus.¹ There is, after all, almost nothing in it for the modern

historian which cannot be found, more reliably, in Procopius.¹⁶ But just as Theophanes later seems to struggle with the complexities of Theophylact Simokatta's language, so there are the occasional signs of his having difficulties with Procopius' classicising Greek. I have already mentioned his difficulty with the particle *yoûn*, so that he creates out of "Oupen yoûn" (*Vandal War*, I, 9.2) a new Vandal leader with a nominative "Ametgoun" (de Boor, p. 187.23). So it was presumably something of a mental struggle for Theophanes to produce what is, despite some unfortunate lapses, generally a very competent précis of Procopius' two books. Theophanes even manages to transfer material from a digression elsewhere in Procopius' to its correct place in his own narrative.¹⁷ The point for my purposes is that Theophanes has gone to considerable trouble to acquire the material for his presentation of Justinian as the great conqueror.

His determination to emphasise Justinian's greatness becomes clear in his handling of Justinian's initial negotiations with Gelimer.¹⁶ In Procopius' account it is Justinian who makes the initial overtures which Gelimer rebuffs rather pointedly and violently and only responds eventually to a second request from Justinian. Theophanes has evidently felt it in more in keeping with Byzantine dignity for Gelimer to seek recognition from the great Justinian in the first place rather than for Justinian to make overtures twice and be dislained. So he simply rearranges the order of the material in Procopius to achieve this impression without actually changing any particular piece of information. Justinian's greatness and dignity are thus maintained. So whereas in Procopius Justinian makes overtures and is rebuffed, in Theophanes Justinian is in control all the time.

This emphasis on control and success is reinforced by the second occasion on which Theophanes turned to Procopius for material on Justinian, this time from *Persian War*.⁶ Here Theophanes goes to some lengths to distort the truth in his attempt to represent the reign as being attended by military success. In general for Justinian's reign Theophanes plays down war with Persia, especially Persian successes. Most notably the disastrous Persian invasions of 540 and 541 are dealt with in an extraordinarily brief two lines (as 6031). By contrast, two years later at as 6033 Theophanes adapts Procopius with a two-page narrative for a very minor success by Belisarius. There is no doubt that the source is Procopius which incidentally demonstrates that Theophanes did have access to Procopius *Persian War* and so could have provided a full account of the disasters of 540. But by devoting instead two pages to this insignificant success (as against an average across the chronicle of less than a single page per year)⁷ which was in fact gained entirely by a

20. Under these pages we must include from 80 to 90, which in Theropods are represented by *Archaeopteryx*. Considerably fewer pages in Dinosauria but much of that is subject to future revision.

For a comparison we used the 100–100 Low FOD model. Chronological changes: 83 and 85 are in order (83: 1.00, 85: 0.98 and 84 are reversed: 54.45, 54.17, 54.37); 103 and 104 are in order (103: 1.00 and 104: 0.99) (table 5.4.1). Since, for 118 the chronology is confused,

There is some discussion in the literature whether I should consider the Deane as having missed a parallel note in the Deane text, but I decided not to. Theophylact, p. 205, lines 24-36, which is the most important passage in the Deane text (Theophylact, vol. XVIII, 301). It deals with the Catholic war

44. In fact all there is comes at de Boer, p. 208.16-20, where there is otherwise unattested information about the Moors' participation, seemingly from a good source which I cannot identify. (Despite de Boer it is not from Procopius).

45. AM 6026, p. 202, 7-9, in a narrative drawn from Proc., BV II, 12, 4-29. Theophanes inserts an explanatory sentence from Proc., BV I, 11, 6.

10. AM 6426, p. 188, 6-11, cf. *Proc. BVA*, 9, 10-26.

47. See 6033, pp. 220.21–222.8, cf. Procl. *BP* II, 21.1–29. Cf. also CAMERON, *Procopius and the sixth century*, London 1985, pp. 161–2.

For Isidorian's reign the first 3 years (ast 6020–2) take up seven and a half pages; ast 6024 has four plus pages (Nika riot) and ast 6026 a massive 30 pages (Vandal war); ast 6050, 6051 and 6054 each have about one and a half pages; ast 6055 has almost 3 pages. The remaining 29 years are covered in about 18 pages.

...theology is derived rather than from a directing adjective. So Theophanes, still on one final point to make about Justinian, which may help explain why he never has ever making Justinian proos. For Justinian finally lapsed into the heresy of apollonius, an extreme form of monophysitism. Theophanes evidently felt he had to stop for a long time, but he is still able to make good use of it. What he does is propose Justinian's life by at least several months, possibly by some years, and then to offer that God kill Justinian before any evil could befall the empire as a result of Justinian's life. Theophanes difficulty in hiding this telescoping of events is clear:

in the same year, the emperor Justinian, after raising the doctrine of concupiscibility and immutability and having an edict to all places that was contrary to piety, with God's aid, died on November 14th of the following 17th indiction, having reigned 38 years, 7 months and 13 days.

Theophanes had not only reversed the order of events for this year, but telescoped *January 1-type* into *February* with his death, and underlined the causal connection with *the advent* to God's realm. "Patriarch" may not have been an appropriate epithet for Theophanes, but his greatness was established while he was orthodox and his lapse into heresy followed his death. Theophanes' pattern of linking orthodoxy to military success is well represented.

Theophanes' motivation of proper behaviour and success may help explain what is far more subtle redating of Malalas: the transfer of the embassy to the Himyarites from early in Justinian's reign (somewhere between 530 and 532) to 571/2 (AM 6064) in the page of text II.¹⁰ We need to remember that Justin II was also *εὐσεβής* so when Theophanes wrote. Theophylact Simocatta, put the blame for breaking the treaty of 562 with the Persians squarely on the Romans and on Justin, this simply was not an acceptable interpretation to Theophanes. Simocatta is quite explicit: "The Romans broke the pact through the leech of the emperor"; and "the Romans, eager for a pretext, without reason and from most ephemeral beginnings they devised for themselves great promises of aid, but he [Justin] procured for them no profit."¹¹ Theophanes simply cannot offer a positive rebuke. But since the Romans had, according to a disbelieving Simocatta, caused the Persians with inciting the Himyarites to revolt (III, 9.6), Malalas' account of the embassy to the Himyarites (VIII, 56) must have seemed to Theophanes a logical and fortunate way of substantiating what Simocatta had rejected and so preserve the Theophanist bias towards Roman righteousness against the wrongdoings of the Persians. We have already noted Theophanes' willingness to redistribute the seemingly meagre amount of material for Malalas included for the years 527–32. An important element in Theophanes' redating of Malalas' material seems to have been the presence

at absence of precise chronological information in Malalas' account. Where, as here, there was no chronological indication other than the context and the general order of events, he was more willing to transfer Malalas' account. Malalas' excess of material for 527-32, the lack of any chronological marker, the need for a substitute for Simocatta's attribution of blame for the war to the pious Justin and the Romans and finally Simocatta's own introduction of the Himeriotes into the narrative were apparently enough to convince Theophanes that Malalas had misdated the embassy. It is all perfectly consistent with Theophanes' normal method.

CONCLUSION

This last example of the freedom with which Theophanes handled Malalas enables us to return to the main point. Although Theophanes' Justinian is based largely on Malalas, contains in places more of the original Malalas than survives in the abbreviated Barocianus manuscript of Malalas, and is followed by some later chroniclers, Theophanes' Justinian is still a late construct. Theophanes is the secondary source; Malalas is the primary one. It is Malalas who reveals to us most about sixth-century attitudes. In Malalas' account Justinian's reign is portrayed as one in which Christianity pervades most aspects of life and in which the emperor, as God's representative on earth, is also almost omnipresent. It is a period of repression and fear in the service of orthodox Christianity and so it is a repression that is acceptable to, and possibly even approved by, the population as they move into the restrictive world of medieval Byzantium.⁴⁵ To understand this world more attention perhaps needs to be given to popular Christianity in works such as the hymns of Romanos and the homilies of Leontios of Constantinople.⁴⁶ It now becomes easier to understand the transition to the seventh century, especially since our picture of the seventh century⁴⁷ is now being revealed as one in which there was still much being written but this writing consisted almost entirely of theological tracts, especially of popular theology. Malalas portrays a period in which Justinian's conquests, though given proper recognition, are not seen as a dominant feature of the reign. That only happens later when Christian orthodoxy found itself under pressure from both the internal challenge of Iconoclasm and the military failures accompanying the external threat of the Muslim Arabs. This prompted the need for a revised account of the past which demonstrated the military might of orthodoxy and the Cross (and also the disasters inevitably accompanying wrong belief). Hence a new Constantine and a new Justinian

63. R. SCOTT, Malalas, *The Secret History*, and Justinian's propaganda, *DOP* 39, 1985, pp. 99–102.

64. CAMERON, *Procopius* (quoted n. 47), has done exactly this, but it is still a book for which obviously the main emphasis is on Procopius. For the text of Leontius, see *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinoopolitani Homiliae*, ed. cur. C. Datema et P. Allen (CCSG 17), Turnhout 1987; for translation, Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople, *Fourteen Homilies*, transl., introd. and annotated by P. Allen with C. Datema (Byzantina Australiensia 9), Brisbane 1991.

65. Cf. Av. CAMERON, *New themes and styles in Byzantine literature, 7th–8th centuries*, in *The Byzantine and Islamic Near East. 1. Problems in the literary source material*, ed. by Av. Cameron and L. J. Conrad (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 1), Princeton 1992, pp. 81–105; Eadem, *Byzantium and the past in the seventh century: the search for redefinition*, in *Le septième siècle: changements et continuités = The seventh century: change and continuity*, ed. by J. Fontaine and J. N. Hilgarth, London 1992, pp. 250–76.

of the 27 pages of the 15th century printed edition of 1521, II, p. 684B, certainly it will have been there before the 15th century. It is therefore not deposited for opposing Justinian's edict, i.e. 529, as the 15th century edition of the *Enchiridion* (Pr., 86, v. 2517B).

See also: *Journal of American Studies*, 19, 1, 1985, p. 100; *The History of Alexander*

...and by explaining Procopius and by judicious selection of Malala...
 ...the Great, which we too have accepted so readily...
 ...in historical method, still influenced by a classical tradition...
 ...and high literary style, and so have given...
 ...the best primary source writing the best kind of history...
 ...the seventh and eighth centuries, we can still remain confident that...
 ...the wording and the essential information of his sources...
 ...his interpretation and his colouring, ignore his adjectives...
 ...his dates unless he provides corroborative...
 ...we should continue to admire him for...
 ...Byzantium's Dark Age

VENERATION OF RELICS IN THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES

by Irina TAMARKINA

The *Chronicle* is highly valued because of the unsurpassed variety of sources used by the authors, George Synkellus and Theophanes. It also provides a comprehensive, albeit very biased, account of the first Iconoclasm, a period that is otherwise poorly documented. There are two major views on the earlier part of the *Chronicle*. One considers Theophanes as an accurate and uncritical copyist of the sources made available to him through a disorganized historical dossier gathered by George Synkellus. Since most of the original texts from this dossier have not survived, the *Chronicle* is valued for the possibility to reconstruct the content of these lost writings.¹ Another approach demonstrates that Theophanes did not copy his sources word-for-word but polemically reinterpreted them by changing their wording, omitting extensive passages and altering the chronology of events. As such, these modifications reflect Theophanes' personal evaluation of prominent emperors of the past.² I argue that Theophanes had more significant authorial control over the source material and the narrative structures of the *Chronicle*, which went beyond rewriting separate episodes on the key figures of the Byzantine history. Theophanes carefully selected and organized even purely factual details in the narrative, such as the discoveries and transfers of relics. He consistently associated recurrent references to relics with imperial orthodoxy. Yet, he did not mention any relics in the reigns of heretical emperors. Thus, relics became a constant marker of imperial orthodoxy. Even though his

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1. MASON – SCOTT, p. lxxiv.

2. J. FURTER, 'Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers: proceedings of the first Australian Byzantine studies conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. by E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt (Byzantina Australiensia 1), Canberra 1981, pp. 32–42; R. SCOTT, 'The events of every year, arranged without confusion': Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *Io., Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century*, Farnham 2012, no. XII; *Io., Writing the reign of Justinian: Malala versus Theophanes*, in *Io., Byzantine chronicles*, no. XIII; *Io.*, in this volume.

Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & E. Montinaro (Istanbul Commentaries 19), Paris 2015, pp. 263–7.

the same dramatic and notoriously devoid of authorial voice. Theophanes' arrangement of his sources for active engagement with the sources he drew upon and access to his own to some extent consistent and personal theories about the past.⁶

The sources and translations of relics are mentioned throughout the *Chronicle*. Yet, except for the last part of his text that covers the period of Iconoclasm, Theophanes does not provide much original and detailed information on relic veneration. The earlier part of the *Chronicle* mostly copies the basic information about the discoveries and translations of relics which was already available in the independently surviving sources. Theophanes' heavy dependence on these sources explains why the treatment of relics in the *Chronicle* did not spark much scholarly interest. When Theophanes does provide unique evidence, as in the case of the translation of the relics of St. Stephen recorded under the year 427, no other ancient Greek source and its veracity has been discredited.⁷ The almost total lack of unique information about relics does not mean, however, that Theophanes was slavishly dependent on his sources. Even in his adaptation of such material he markedly altered them in narrative strategy. By examining the manner in which Theophanes adapted information from his sources and the ways in which he changed it, we gain a clear picture of how Theophanes' depiction of the discoveries and translations of relics speaks to his perception and representation of the past.

An examination of the references to relics in Theophanes' narrative reveals their importance as symbols of orthodoxy. In this capacity, relics are crucial elements in Theophanes' view on religion and imperial power. It also becomes clear that they serve as a marker of religious correctness of Byzantine emperors. As such, discoveries and translations of relics do not appear randomly in the *Chronicle*; they occur during the reigns of Orthodox emperors while heretical emperors are consistently disassociated from the veneration of relics. Moreover, discoveries and translations of relics coincide in Theophanes' narrative with military victories of the pious and Orthodox emperors. Thus, Theophanes uses relics to reinforce his belief about the correlation between emperors' religious correctness and their military successes. The *Chronicle* emerges from my research as a carefully organized text in which all the narrative elements are purposefully selected and combined in order to illustrate the author's claim about the proper beliefs and imperial power.

The theme of orthodoxy is one of Theophanes' major concerns. It underlies his entire narrative and centrally affects his presentation of imperial power. All Byzantine emperors, no matter how bad, can be of two categories: Orthodox or heretical. Emperors who, according to Theophanes, possessed the true faith, are labeled in his account as "pious" and "Orthodox," while those who supported heresy are described as "ungodly," "unholy" and "tyrannical." Moreover, Theophanes' narrator articulates the consistent remuneration of

imperial orthodoxy with military success of the Byzantine Empire.⁸ In order to establish the unflinching connection between the imperial orthodoxy and military victories of the Byzantine army, Theophanes accordingly modified the information of his sources. When their evidence did not fully support this correlation or did not make a clear point, Theophanes masterfully altered it, by subtly rewriting the wording of his sources. In more challenging cases, Theophanes had to manipulate the order of events so that religious deviance of the emperors did not coincide with military victories.⁹ Theophanes' treatment of relics as symbols of imperial orthodoxy shows a similarly careful handling of sources. Only the facts that supported the correlation between relics and imperial orthodoxy were included in the *Chronicle*, and evidence that would contradict it was eliminated.

As a result of careful selection of information and rewriting the evidence, only pious and Orthodox emperors are associated with relics in Theophanes' account. The *Chronicle* presents Constantine as the first emperor to set the trend for Orthodox rulers to venerate relics. According to Theophanes, right after the battle of the Milvian Bridge and gaining control over Rome, Constantine collected all the relics of the martyrs in the city and arranged for their reburial. Only after the relics received proper veneration did the Romans celebrate Constantine's victory.¹⁰ Thus in Theophanes' account Constantine's act of veneration of relics emerges as the first action of the first Christian emperor. Theophanes most likely borrowed this passage from the same source used by Alexander the Monk for his piece *On the discovery of the Holy Cross*.¹¹ However, the latter placed the reburial of the relics after Constantine's victory over Licinius in 324. Moreover, he framed the reburial as one of the measures undertaken by the emperor in order to restore property alienated from the Christians during the persecutions. Theophanes moved Constantine's concern with the proper placing of the Christian relics to the beginning of his reign and recorded it independently from other legislation related to Church property. In such a way, the reburial became a self-important illustration of the emperor's piety.

The next Orthodox emperor in Theophanes' narrative is Theodosius I, who emerges as a pious emperor and the restorer of orthodoxy after a series of emperors who promoted the Arian heresy. The emperor ordered that the relics of Paul the Confessor be brought to Constantinople.¹² The discovery of the relics of the prophets Micah and Habakkuk also occurred during his reign.¹³ Theodosius' son Arcadius continued his father's Orthodox

6. Scott, "The events of every year" (quoted n. 2).

7. Frant, Theophanes' account (quoted n. 2).

8. Τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπὶ κρητικῆς τῆς Ρώμης Κωνσταντίνου ὁ θεοσεβέστερος προ πέντε τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν μαρτυρῶν ἐκείνου συλλεγέμενα ὅσα τε ἀπὸ παραδοθῆναι, καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνισκίον ἱερῶν, προάφροντες τὸν κύριον καὶ τὸν ζωοποιόν σπουδὴν ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τὸν σικτήν ἡρωοποιῶντες (Theoph. AM 5803, p. 1426–30). Cf. Mango – Scott, p. 234.

9. Alexander Monachus, *De inventione Sanctae Crucis*, PG 87C, c. 4056A. See J. WOODHEAD, The legend of Constantine the relic provider, in *Int. Studies on the cult of relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, (Leiden, 2009), no. 111, p. 489; R. Scott, The image of Constantine in Michael and Theophanes, in *Byzantine chronicles* (quoted n. 2), no. XV, pp. 66–7.

10. Theoph. AM 5876, p. 69, 30–1; Mango – Scott, p. 105.

11. Theoph. AM 5885, p. 73, 29–31; Mango – Scott, p. 112.

12. The *Chronicle* (no. 1) follows closely a passage a challenging task to decide definitively when and where was produced in George Kordas by Theophanes, or might be a result of his own work. The passage, however, consistently refers to the author as "Theophanes" since he is not the author of the *Chronicle*, since I am a more accurate but more cumbersome "George Kordas" (Theoph. AM 5803, p. 1426–30). For the discussion of the authorship of the *Chronicle* see Theodoridis, *Byzantine chronicles*, pp. 26–27, and L. MANGO, *op. cit.* volume.

13. Theoph. AM 5876, p. 69, 30–1; Mango – Scott, p. 105.

14. Theoph. AM 5885, p. 73, 29–31; Mango – Scott, p. 112.

reign witnessed the translation of the relics of John the Baptist to Alexandria in 478.¹²

The discovery and relocation of many relics are recorded under the reign of Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria, who are repeatedly labeled "pious."¹³ The relics of St. Stephen and the prophet Zachariah were discovered in Palestine.¹⁴ The relics of St. Euphemia were brought to Alexandria.¹⁵ Theodosius and Pulcheria also took part in the translation of the relics of St. Stephen and of John Chrysostom to Constantinople.¹⁶ Finally, Pulcheria alone is credited with the translation of the relics of Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, immediately after Theodosius' death.¹⁷

The next Orthodox emperor is Leo, who is explicitly called "pious" by Theophanes.¹⁸ Translations of relics are recorded during his reign: that of the martyr Anastasia, which were brought to Constantinople, and those of the Prophet Elisha, which were moved to Alexandria.¹⁹ After Leo the next Orthodox emperor in Theophanes' narrative is Justinian. He is called "pious" on two occasions.²⁰ Two events involving relics are recorded under his reign. First, the relics of the Apostles Andrew, Luke and Timothy were deposited in the newly rebuilt church of SS. Apostles.²¹ Justinian also built a church dedicated to the martyr Eusebia in Nicaea and transferred her relics there.²² The last event mentioned in the *Chronicle* as a positive connection with relics is the return of those of St. Euphemia to Constantinople after the restoration of icon veneration by the emperors Constantine VI and Irene.

In the same way, Theophanes markedly disassociates heretical emperors from the translation of relics. Some emperors, such as the pagan emperor Julian and the iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V, are said to have actively suppressed the worship of relics. During their reigns relics were confiscated, dispersed and destroyed. In addition to labeling these emperors as persecutors of relics, Theophanes does not mention any occasions when relics were found or transferred during the reigns of any heretical emperor. Thus he says that Julian the Apostate removed the relics of St. Babylas from his sarcophagus at Ephesus.²³ During his reign the pagans unearthed and dispersed the relics of St. Procopius, and mistreated the relics of St. George, bishop of Alexandria.²⁴

12. Theoph. *am* 500, 6 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 114.

13. Theophanes is called "pious" (*phaios*) throughout the entire narrative (*am* 5901–451).

14. Theoph. *am* 515, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 135.

15. Theoph. *am* 522, 6 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 149.

16. St. Euphemia found *am* 500, 6 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, pp. 135 f. John Chrysostom: *am* 500, 6 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 144.

17. Theoph. *am* 504, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, pp. 158–9.

18. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

19. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

20. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

21. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

22. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

23. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

24. Theoph. *am* 502, 3 *PG* 158, 10; Scott, p. 172.

The iconoclast Emperors Leo III and Constantine V waged a war on relics.²⁵ According to Theophanes, Leo III abominated the relics of all saints.²⁶ Constantine V had relics confiscated and destroyed; and their owners were severely punished for possessing a relic.²⁷ Theophanes gives a detailed description of the emperor's attempt to destroy the relics of St. Euphemia in Constantinople by throwing them into the sea.²⁸ Emulating Constantine's actions, Michael Lachanodrakon, strategos of Thrakesion, had relics of the saints burned and people who possessed them punished.²⁹

Theophanes' disassociation of relics from heretical emperors extends to omitting discoveries and translations of relics during their reigns. In some cases his sources might not have contained the relevant information. However, these omissions are most glaring in cases when Theophanes' sources provided information on discoveries or translations of relics under these emperors but Theophanes' deliberately ignored this evidence and did not copy it in the text of the *Chronicle*.

The most telling illustration of Theophanes' aim to distance heretical emperors from veneration of the relics is the changes that he made to the text of Theodore Lector, a source that he usually followed very closely.³⁰ For instance, Theophanes eliminated the information about relics during the reign of Zeno contained in Theodore's *Church history*. Zeno emerges in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes as a depraved emperor and a supporter of the Miaphysite heresy. Theophanes summarized Zeno's reign and his personality in the following remark: "Zeno administered the Empire harmfully, in the beginning the Saracens overran Mesopotamia and the Huns Thrace, causing severe damage to the state, while the emperor spent his time on wicked pleasures and unjust deeds."³¹ While copying most of his information on Zeno from the *Church history*, Theophanes significantly omitted the discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas. Theodore reported that these were found on Cyprus together with a manuscript of the New Testament copied in the Saint's hand. Theodore was not very explicit about what happened to the relics but reports that the manuscript was brought by Zeno to Constantinople and deposited in the palace.³² Thus the *Church history* of Theodore established a close personal connection between Zeno and the relics of St. Barnabas. First, their discovery happened during his reign. Secondly the emperor obtained for himself the manuscript, the object that was in close contact with the relics. Theophanes, however, completely ignored the entire passage on the relic discovery and the manuscript. By doing so, he eliminated the link between Zeno and relics that was evident in the text of Theodore.

26. On an interpretation of the policies of the iconoclast emperors towards relics see M.-F. Auzépy, *Les Isauriens et l'espace sacré: l'église et les reliques*, in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident*, sous la dir. de M. Kaplan, Paris 2001, pp. 13–24.

27. Theoph. *am* 6218, p. 406.23–5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 561.

28. Theoph. *am* 6258, p. 439.21–32; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 607.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Theoph. *am* 6263, p. 446.2–5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 615.

31. On Theodore Lector see: P. NAUTIN, *Théodore Lecteur et sa réunion de différentes Histoires de l'Église*, *REB* 52, 1994, pp. 213–43; W. TREAGOLD, *The early Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke – New York 2007, pp. 169–75; B. POULBERG, in this volume.

32. Theoph. *am* 5966, p. 120.9–11; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 186 f.

33. Theod. Lect., fr. 436, p. 121.

On another occasion Theophanes slightly rewrote the text of Theodore with the same end in mind, removing Zeno from the relics' veneration. Theodore's *Church History* records that Zeno, the patriarch of Antioch, asked Zeno's permission to bring the relics of St. Stephen back to Antioch.⁴² Then it gives a description of the relics' arrival at the city. Theophanes copied this passage word for word with one major alteration: he omitted the mention of Zeno.⁴³ Kaloushon alone is credited with the transfer of the relics. In such a way Theophanes gained the same effect that he achieved when eliminating the information about the discovery of the relics at Burnabus: he dissociated Zeno from the cult of relics. Theophanes' changes to Theodore's text are all the more striking because both authors shared his contempt of Zeno's religious policies. For both historians Zeno was a bad emperor who opposed heretics. But since Theodore Lector did not use relic veneration as a marker of religious orthodoxy he included in his narrative the evidence of relic veneration by Zeno. Theophanes had to eliminate it since it would not fit his theory of the close correlation between the veneration of relics and religious orthodoxy.

In addition to using relics as markers of imperial orthodoxy Theophanes established a correlation between military victories of Orthodox emperors and discoveries and translations of relics. In his accounts discoveries and translations of relics are often mentioned when emperors defeat an enemy, internal or external. References to relics link successful emperors towards the tradition of military victories of pious emperors, because in Theophanes' view the military successes of the Byzantine Empire were a manifestation of imperial piety.⁴⁴ In such a way discoveries and translations of relics crown emperors' triumphs and signal that they were victorious due to their piety.

For instance, Constantine rediscovered the relics of the Roman martyrs and arranged for their removal after his victory over Maxentius.⁴⁵ The relics of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered in Palestine after the emperor Theodosius I defeated Eugenius who had usurped imperial power in the West.⁴⁶ In order to create a link between Theodosius' victory and relics Theophanes had to rearrange the information that he borrowed from Theodore Lector. Theodore records the discovery of the prophets' relics before the account of Eugenius' revolt. His *Church History* gives the following order of events: first the relics of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered in Palestine.⁴⁷ Then the emperor Valentinian II committed suicide, reportedly at the instigation of Eugenius.⁴⁸ Eugenius, together with Arbogastes, usurped imperial power in the West. Eugenius was killed by Theodosius. Eugenius was killed and Arbogastes fled.⁴⁹ Since Theophanes usually mentions the relics before the death of Valentinian II and the ensuing usurpation, his account does not create a link between the discovery of the relics and Theodosius' victory. Theophanes, however, changed the order of the events and moved the discovery of the relics after Theodosius defeated the usurpers, under the same

year. By placing the relics' discovery next to Theodosius' triumph, Theophanes created a logical link between the victory of the pious emperor Theodosius over the usurpers and the miraculous recovery of the relics. In Theophanes' narrative the discovery of the relics is the reward that crowns Theodosius' victory.

Similarly, the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen and of the prophet Zachariah in Palestine is placed in the *Chronicle* after the Byzantine victory against the Persians.⁵⁰ Theodore Lector, Theophanes' main source for the period, records a series of events in the West between the entries on the Byzantine victory over the Persians and the discovery of the relics.⁵¹ As a result, military success and the recovery of relics are separated by non-related evidence that does not allow for any connection between the two events. Theophanes rearranged the facts and placed the discovery of the relics immediately after the Byzantine triumph under the next yearly entry.⁵² In his account, the discovery of the relics is cast as another illustration of the emperor's piety, which ensured military success for the Byzantines.

A similar connection between a Byzantine victory and the veneration of relics can be seen in the account of Justinian's reign. Theophanes records two translations of relics performed by the emperor in Constantinople directly before he narrates Narses' victory over Totila in Italy.⁵³ In this context, Justinian's devotion towards the relics is remunerated by the victory of the Byzantines.

Information about relics in the *Chronicle* does not provide an accurate picture for the development of the cult of relics in the Byzantine Empire but serves as a way to understand Theophanes' judgment of the Byzantine emperors. Certainly, Theophanes was not the first Byzantine author who drew attention to emperors' worship of relics as the means of highlighting their piety. Just to give a few examples, Sozomenos used the discovery of the relics of the Forty Martyrs to illustrate Pulcheria's devoutness and piety.⁵⁴ In a similar way, Prokopios praised Justinian's reverence for relics in his flattering description of the emperor's construction projects.⁵⁵ The treatment of relics in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes is compelling in another respect. It attests to the author's aptitude in arranging seemingly random and sporadic references to one particular subject into a consistent theory that runs through his entire narrative. By carefully selecting the evidence that he borrowed from various sources and subtly reworking it, Theophanes tied seemingly minor details into a consistent presentation of relics as markers of imperial orthodoxy. Theophanes' treatment of relics shows how much thought went into writing the *Chronicle*, which at first sight might appear to be an unpolished assortment of random facts.

⁴² Theoph. AM 5918 f., pp. 86.25–87.5; Mango – Scott, p. 130 f.

⁴³ Theod. Lect., II, 27–8, p. 93. The war with the Persians is narrated in II, 314; the discovery of the relics in II, 319.

⁴⁴ In fact the military operations in question took place in 421–2, see G. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine Empire and its Successors*, 2 vols. (1956), pp. 1–14. The discovery of the relics of St. Stephen and the prophet Zachariah is traditionally dated to 415.

⁴⁵ SS. Apostles, Theoph. AM 6042, p. 227; Mango – Scott, p. 781; *Translations of the Saints*, p. 332.

⁴⁶ SS. Apostles, Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁴⁷ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁴⁸ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁴⁹ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁵⁰ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁵¹ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁵² Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁵³ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁵⁴ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

⁵⁵ Theoph. AM 6046, p. 228–9; Mango – Scott, p. 782.

THÉOPHANE ET SES SOURCES SUR LA GUERRE D'ANASTASE I^{er} CONTRE LES PERSES

par Geoffrey GREATREX

Notre contribution porte sur le récit circonstancié du chroniqueur du ix^e s. de la guerre qui éclata au début du vi^e s. lorsque le roi sassanide Cabadès traversa la frontière et mit le siège devant la ville d'Amida, qui tomba en janvier 503. L'empereur riposta en envoyant à la frontière plusieurs commandants qui réussirent, non sans quelques difficultés, à refouler les Perses et à convaincre le roi d'entamer des négociations¹.

Il n'y a pas lieu de reconsidérer l'histoire de la guerre, déjà l'objet de plusieurs études, mais nous croyons cependant qu'il reste des éléments à éclaircir sur la provenance des informations fournies par Théophane pour les années AM 5996-5998. Soulignons en passant que ce travail est réalisé dans le cadre d'un projet lancé dernièrement, soutenu par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada, qui a pour but de produire un commentaire sur les deux premiers livres des *Guerres* de Procope. Il s'agit de la première étape d'une entreprise plus vaste qui vise à doter toutes les œuvres de l'historien d'un commentaire². Procope ne semble toutefois pas être la source de la version de Théophane, ni le chroniqueur Malalas, pas plus que le pseudo-Zacharie de Mytilène³. Avant d'aller plus loin dans notre tentative d'identifier la (ou les) source(s) de Théophane, il convient de dégager quelques traits saillants du récit.

1. Sur la guerre voir G. GREATREX, *Rome and Persia at war*, Leeds 1998, p. 72-118; *The Roman Eastern frontier and the Persian wars. 2. AD 363-630 : a narrative sourcebook*, ed. and compiled by G. Greatrex and S. N. C. Lieu, London 2002, p. 62-77; F. HAARER, *Anastasius I*, Cambridge 2006, p. 47-65; Jean Le Lydien, *Des magistratures de l'État romain. 2. Livres II et III*, texte établi, trad. et commenté par J. Schamp, Paris 2006, p. xxxviii-xlii; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 194-213. Nous tenons à remercier Boris Shopov (Sofia) pour nous avoir fourni une traduction de l'article de Н. С. Чичуров, *Феофан Исповедник компилятор Прокопия*, *ВВ* 37, 1976, p. 62-73, et de celui de Я. Н. Анобарский, *Феофан Исповедник и источники его Хронографии : к вопросу о методах их освоения*, *ВВ* 45, 1984, p. 72-86, ainsi qu'à Dariusz Brodka (Cracovie) et à Catherine Collobert (Ottawa).

2. G. GREATREX, *Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah on the siege of Amida and its aftermath (502-6)*, dans *Communitas et contentio : studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East in memory of Zeev Rubin*, ed. by H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer, Düsseldorf 2010, p. 227-251, représente le premier fruit de ce projet, une comparaison des récits du pseudo-Zacharie de Mytilène et de Procope sur le siège d'Amida. Cf. G. GREATREX, *Perceptions of Procopius in recent scholarship*, *HuMo* 8, 2014, p. 76-121.

3. Voir MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxxxii, xciii et n. 18 plus bas.

... nous sommes en fait renseignés sur sa vie et sa carrière. Mais une chose qui ressort très nettement des récits de Malalas et d'Évagre, c'est que son œuvre prit fin subitement au cours de la 12^{ème} année du règne d'Anastase, plus ou moins au moment de la prise d'Amida par les Sarrasins : la 12^{ème} année commençant le 11 avril 502 et dura jusqu'au 10 avril 503¹⁰.

Il paraît donc de constater que nous sommes confrontés à un défi historiographique de quelque ordre. Si l'on admet que la section de Théophane sur la guerre d'Anastase repose d'une seule source, ce qui paraît hautement probable, comme nous l'avons vu, il semble évident, en outre, que cette source soit Eustathe. En outre, étant donné les renvois que nous avons de temps en temps en question l'attribution à Eustathe de plusieurs autres notices¹¹, l'implication dans l'acte de la transmission de notices, selon laquelle Eustathe serait à l'origine de la section de Théophane pour le 6^{ème} s., perdrait ainsi de sa plausibilité.

Il faut que de nouvelles ou les implications de notre constatation, passons à une autre plus importante des autres sources de la guerre d'Anastase contre les Perses. La similitude entre le Christisme et le dévotisme des points communs entre Théophane et le pseudo-Josué : et sont les seuls à signaler la défection du général Constantin à Constantinople, par exemple. Il n'est pas nécessaire pour autant d'en déduire un lien entre les deux sources, la relation de Constantin a dû être bien connue¹². Malalas, quant à lui, ne cite que succinctement la prise de la ville et la capture du commandant. Il croit d'ailleurs que Josué a mené en personne la prise, alors que le pseudo-Josué affirme qu'il se réfugia dans une ville des Romains et fut amené prisonnier à Constantinople¹³. L'erreur de Malalas provient de la similitude de la dépendance de la chronique d'Eustarthe, qui, comme

on l'a vu, semble avoir pris fin en 502-3 : Malalas aurait pu en tirer la conclusion d'après l'œuvre dont il disposait que l'ancien commandant avait dû périr sur le sol perse¹¹.

Examinons en relatant celle de Théodosiopolis et de son commandant, Constantin. Suit la réaction d'Anastase, l'expédition d'Aréobindus, de Patricius, d'Hypatius et d'Apion et d'une vaste armée destinée à reprendre l'offensive. Puis l'auteur semble perdre intérêt, il déclare tout simplement que lors d'affrontements sanglants de nombreux soldats des deux puissances périrent (p. 326.44-45). C'est à ce moment qu'il introduit sa référence à Eustathe, « le chroniqueur le plus sage » qui disparut peu après, laissant son œuvre inachevée (p. 326.46-47)¹⁵. Plus précisément, il affirme qu'Eustathe composa un récit « de ce πόλεμος », terme qui pourrait évoquer soit la guerre entière, soit une campagne (en l'occurrence, celle de 503 au cours de laquelle Aréobindus remporta quelques succès mais fut repoussé par l'armée de Cabadès)¹⁶. Il termine son récit en relatant le rappel d'Hypatius à Constantinople et son remplacement par le « sage » illyrien Celer qui réussit à reprendre possession des villes tombées et à conclure une trêve avec les Perses (p. 326.48-53). Évagre (III, 37) pour sa part clôt sa petite notice de la guerre par une référence au récit d'Eustathe, puis poursuit en décrivant la fondation de Dara (cf. Mal. 16,10).

Il nous reste à discuter des autres historiens de la guerre. Nous pouvons laisser de côté le pseudo-Josué le Stylite : comme nous l'avons déjà noté, son récit, à part son caractère détaillé, ne ressemble pas à celui de Théophane¹⁷. Quant au pseudo-Zacharie, il se concentre presque exclusivement sur le siège d'Amida et les tentatives des Romains de récupérer la ville. Comme nous l'avons fait remarquer ailleurs, il puise dans une source locale à laquelle Procope eut accès également, d'où la ressemblance de leurs descriptions du siège¹⁸.

14. La solution émise par la *PLRE* II, s.v. Eustathius 10, cf. GREATHEN, *Boone and Perini* (cité p. 11), p. 80 n. 27.

15. Certains chercheurs supposent qu'Eustathe est mort en 502-3 : par exemple WHITBY, *Eugene* (cit. n. 9), p. 46 n. 168, DESBÉ, *Du grec en syriaque* (cit. n. 9), p. 607 (cf. GRIFFITHS, *Rome and Persia* (cit. n. 1), p. 78 n. 8), mais il est plus probable qu'il ne mourut que plus tard au moment où son épiscopat avait atteint la guerre perse. cf. déjà Th. MOMMSEN, *Zosimus*, *BZ* 12, 1903, p. 533; M. CAMERON, 'The date of Zosimus' *New history*, *Philologus* 13, 1969, p. 106-110, ici p. 107; T. DAVISCH, 1, *Der Zenit der Zosimos : Evagrius, Eustathios und die Aufhebung des chrysostom. Anabasis Romanica*, *Journal Dairi* 8, 1977, p. 89-102, ici p. 90; BÄURLE, *Eustathios* (cit. n. 9), p. 60; TROSDORF, *The Byzantine world histories* (cit. n. 8), p. 726.

16 Rappelons que Cédrenus rapporte qu'il y eut plusieurs *nozonon* contre le roi perse après la chute d'Amila (Cedr., I, p. 629, 1) : le sens de « campagne » semble donc préférable. Cf. n. 34 plus bas.

17 Cf. n. 12 plus haut. Certains commandants romains figurent dans les deux recs, mais d'autres sont mentionnés que par l'un ou l'autre (par exemple Bonosus dans le cas de Théophraste). Les mentions de C. Iulius, Henry Chama (cité n. 12) et de P. Iulius (cité n. 12) et de P. Iulius (cité n. 12), de les rapprocher ne nous paraissent pas probantes, cf. l'approche plus prudente de R. H. C. Wright (cité n. 10), p. xxvi.

[8] G. L. GARDNER, *Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah* (cit. n. 2), p. 234-235. Il est possible que la chronique d'Eusèbe sous-tende les deux narrations sur la chute d'Amida, cf. la préface de J. HANSEN, *Procopius Caesariensis Opera omnia*, add. et corr. adiecta G. Wirth, vol. 1, Leipzig 1963, p. xxv-xxvi. Orsi. Du grec en syriaque (cit. n. 10), p. 607, 611-612; CAPOGROSSI, *Ille datus* (cit. n. 13), p. 107; SORDANI, *La caduta* (cit. n. 9), p. 69 n. 28; *PIRELLA*, *La caduta* (cit. n. 10), mais n'est pas un ouvrage personnel, cf. THOMASSEN, *The Byzantine world* (cit. n. 8), p. 749, selon lequel Procope ne peut avoir servi de modèle d'Eusèbe avant les *Contra Iulianum*.

Par contre, les quelques chapitres que consacre Procope à la guerre sont les plus proches de la version de Théophane. À l'instar du pseudo-Zacharie, il traite en détail du siège d'Amida et des tentatives de la reprendre, mais on y repère quelques autres éléments provenant d'autres sources, par exemple son excursus sur l'homme saint Jacques d'Édesse (BP I, 7.5-11). Son catalogue des commandants expédiés par Anastase pour mener l'offensive contre Cabadès (BP I, 8.1-5) rappelle celui de Théophane (p. 145.17-19.11) mais les deux listes recèlent des différences : Procope évoque des chefs omis par Théophane (Patriculus et son fils Vitalien, les chefs goths Godidiselus et Bessas), tandis que ce dernier mentionne Romanus et Zémarchus et n'associe pas Celer à la première vague de renforts (à raison). La conclusion la plus plausible – que tirent d'ailleurs Mango et Scott dans leur commentaire – est que Procope et Théophane puisaient tous les deux à la même source mais en retenant des éléments différents¹⁹. La même source a probablement aussi été exploitée par l'auteur des *Excerpta Salmasiana* attribués à Jean d'Antioche, comme l'a démontré en 1893 de Boor²⁰.

Procope poursuit en relatant une série de défaites romaines à laquelle mit fin Celer, qui réussit enfin à conclure un accord pour reprendre possession des villes tombées (BP I, 8.6-9.25) ; Théophane donne plutôt l'impression d'une série de victoires romaines (p. 148.31-149.13). L'historien de Césarée offre plus de détails sur les affrontements que les romains, mais se trompe sur l'identité du général rappelé à Constantinople : il affirme que c'est l'Aréobindus qui y retourna (BP I, 9.1), alors qu'il est assuré que ce fut plutôt le neveu de l'empereur, Hypariüs²¹. Cependant, il faut nuancer ces divergences. Le *Journal* de Théophane décrit les mêmes campagnes mais en brosse un portrait très différent : Procope, comme les autres historiens du règne de Justinien, préfère minimiser les succès romains de la dynastie précédente, alors que Théophane reflète une version beaucoup plus positive du déroulement des opérations militaires. Les allusions que fait Théophane à l'expédition du commandant Glonès à Amida (p. 145.17), puis à son

assassinat (p. 147.8-9) semblent indiquer qu'il aurait pu donner plus de précisions à l'instar de Procope, cf. le pseudo-Zacharie, mais qu'il préféra se contenter d'une simple mention²².

Sur la base de la courte section que Théophane consacre à la guerre perse d'Anastase, nous pensons qu'il a eu accès à une source de premier ordre, la même sur laquelle Procope s'est fondé pour son récit superficiel et déséquilibré. Cette source présente tous les traits d'une histoire classicisante, qu'on songe aux épithètes ou aux descriptions accordées aux commandants (tels Alypius et Celer), aux précisions géographiques, par exemple l'explication qu'Édesse est une ville de la Mésopotamie et que Samosate est située en Laphratésie (p. 146.6-7) ou bien à l'allusion à τῶν λατρωμένων Καδουσίων (ceux qu'on appelle des Cadusiens, p. 148.15), tournure typique pour un historien de ce genre.²³ Nous croyons repérer une autre trace de la nature classicisante de cette source dans l'emploi presque unique de l'unité de mesure le stade (p. 145.1-2) : Théophane précise que la ville de Constantia est située à 507 stades à l'ouest de Nisibis et une distance semblable au sud d'Amida. Hormis plusieurs emplois du terme dans la notice qu'il puise dans les *Guerres contre les Vandales* de Procope (AM 6026) Théophane ne s'en sert qu'une seule autre fois, lorsqu'il rapporte la fondation de Constantia par Constance (AM 5832, p. 36.12) et qu'il précise qu'elle est située à 700 stades d'Amida²⁴. Procope emploie régulièrement cette unité de mesure plutôt archaïsante, notamment en BP I, 8.10, lorsqu'il situe Siphrios, la scène d'une bataille dans la guerre qui nous occupe, à 350 stades d'Amida. Nous pouvons en déduire que la source commune des deux auteurs fut une œuvre classicisante, bien renseignée sur le déroulement de la guerre en question.

19. Mango-Scott, p. 227. À l'égard d'une discussion du terme bizarre ἐξαρχοῦντος qu'emploie Théophane pour désigner le commandant d'Aréobindus (p. 145.19) : ils suggèrent que Théophane l'ait emprunté à une source qu'il partageait avec Procope. Nous préférons cette interprétation d'une expédition p. 145.19. Théophane puisant dans le récit de Procope dans cette notice. L'explication de ce terme est donc à rechercher ailleurs, au lieu d'être cherchée dans les *Guerres contre les Perses* de Procope (p. 145.19).

20. De Boor, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in griechischer Sprache*, 3. Die Salmasianer und Trajanischen Excerpta. Manasses, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 145.17-19.11. 21. De Boor, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in griechischer Sprache*, 3. Die Salmasianer und Trajanischen Excerpta. Manasses, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 145.17-19.11. 22. De Boor, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in griechischer Sprache*, 3. Die Salmasianer und Trajanischen Excerpta. Manasses, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 145.17-19.11. 23. De Boor, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in griechischer Sprache*, 3. Die Salmasianer und Trajanischen Excerpta. Manasses, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 145.17-19.11. 24. De Boor, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in griechischer Sprache*, 3. Die Salmasianer und Trajanischen Excerpta. Manasses, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 145.17-19.11.

25. Mango-Scott, p. 227. À l'égard d'une discussion du terme bizarre ἐξαρχοῦντος qu'emploie Théophane pour désigner le commandant d'Aréobindus (p. 145.19) : ils suggèrent que Théophane l'ait emprunté à une source qu'il partageait avec Procope. Nous préférons cette interprétation d'une expédition p. 145.19. Théophane puisant dans le récit de Procope dans cette notice. L'explication de ce terme est donc à rechercher ailleurs, au lieu d'être cherchée dans les *Guerres contre les Perses* de Procope (p. 145.19).

22. Sur la volonté des auteurs du règne de Justinien de minimiser les succès du règne d'Anastase voir n. 6 plus haut.

23. Les *Guerres* de Procope regorgent d'exemples de jugements sommaires de l'auteur sur les commandants, voir Av. CAMERON, *Procopius and the sixth century*, London 1985, p. 240 n. 84. Pour un exemple, voir BP I, 17.40, cf. Priscus frg. 9, 4 (ed. R. BLOCKLEY, *The fragmentary classical historians of the later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, Liverpool 1983) : Theoph., AM 5942, p. 102.15-16 : Priscus Pannia, *Excerpta et fragmenta*, ed. P. CAROLLA, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 2008, frg. 61*, p. 89-90), au sujet d'Amida. Pour ce qui est de l'orientation géographique, cf. Proc., BP I, 8.10; 13.2; 15.9; Théophane décrit l'emplacement de Serdica (p. 116.31) de la même façon que celui de Constantia, cf. p. 119.26-27 (Ravenna). Dans ce dernier cas pourtant, Mal. 15.10 (p. 308.60-61) donne des renseignements similaires, détail qui a échappé à de Boor et à Thurn.

Théophane indique aussi dans cette section l'ethnicité d'un individu, par exemple dans le cas de Pharesmanes, p. 146.3, cf. Proc., BP I, 8.3; 24.11, encore un trait typique d'une œuvre classicisante, cf. aussi Théophane, p. 119.22 (au sujet d'Odoacre). Sur les circonlocutions employées communément par les historiens classicisants, voir (par exemple) CAMERON, *Procopius*, p. 114-115 (au sujet du christianisme) ; Proc., BP I, 7.22; 25.31, cf. Priscus frg. 6, 2, 194 : Theoph., AM 5942, p. 102.17). Jean d'Antioche, dans les fragments plus élaborés qui concernent le règne d'Anastase, offre des jugements semblables (par exemple, frg. 242, 5, sur Cyrille), emploie des circonlocutions (frg. 234, pour les Goths et leurs chefs) et de certaines personnes (frg. 234).

24. Nous pensons qu'il y a un problème textuel à la p. 145.1-2 (voir de Boor ad locum) et de Chiffre dans le texte. On remarque toutefois une contradiction avec la notice à la p. 46, cf. Mango-Scott, p. 84 n. 1.

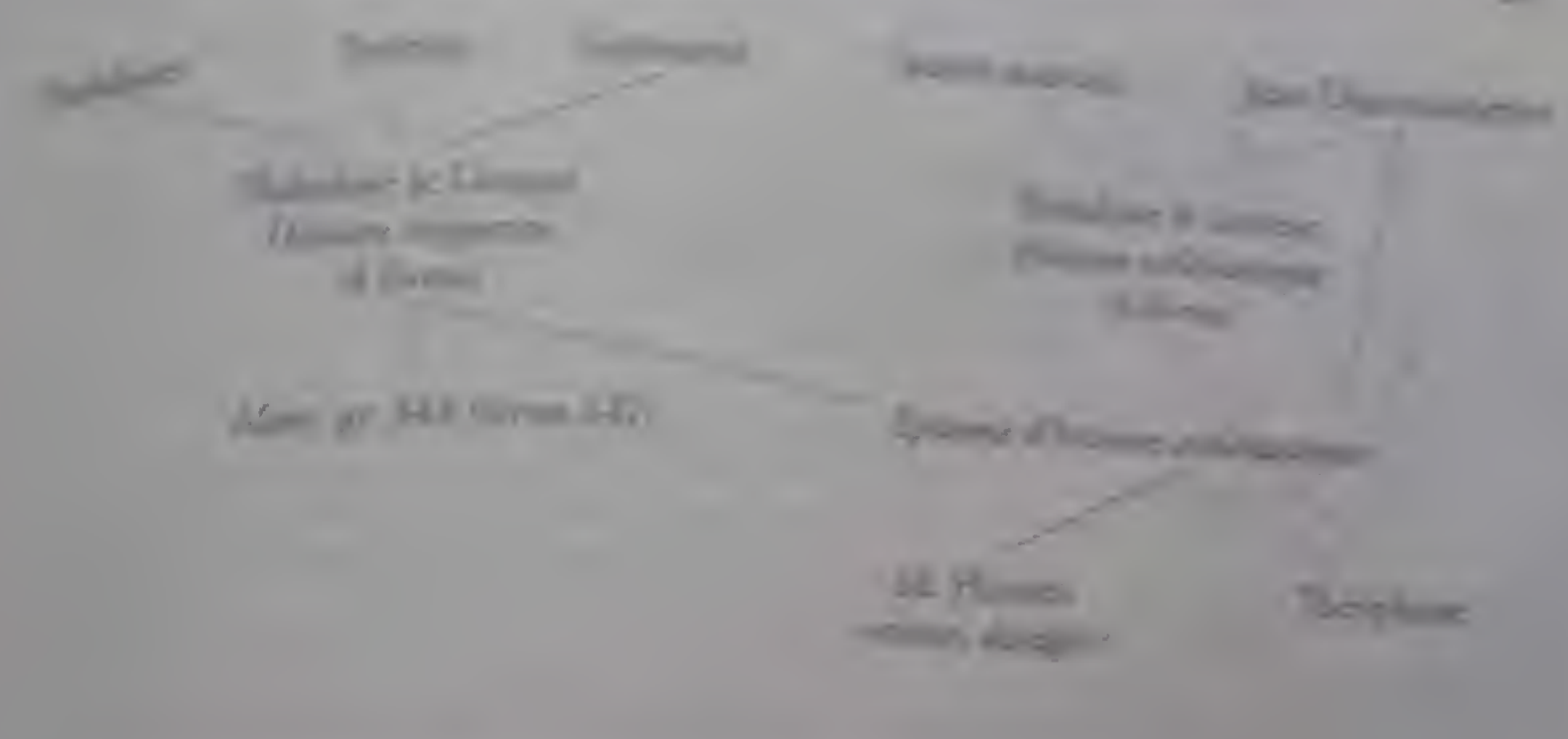
La question de l'authenticité de la *Historia ecclesiastica* de Théodore de Mopsueste a été soulevée par les critiques de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle. Les premiers à s'interroger sur l'authenticité de l'œuvre furent les orientalistes allemands, puis les grecs. Les arguments avancés portaient sur des points de détail, comme la présence de mots ou de tournures de phrase jugés anachroniques, ou sur des aspects stylistiques, comme la répétition de certaines expressions. Cependant, ces critiques ont été largement réfutées par les études philologiques et paléographiques menées au cours du XX^e siècle. Les manuscrits de l'œuvre sont nombreux et bien répartis dans les bibliothèques de l'Orient et de l'Occident, ce qui atteste de son authenticité. De plus, les études linguistiques ont permis de constater que le grec employé par Théodore est conforme à celui de son époque. Enfin, les recherches historiques ont montré que l'œuvre reflète fidèlement la pensée et le contexte de son auteur. Ainsi, la *Historia ecclesiastica* de Théodore de Mopsueste est une œuvre authentique et précieuse pour l'histoire de l'Église et de la théologie du IV^e siècle.

Les extraits cités dans ce travail ont été choisis en fonction de leur intérêt théologique et historique. Ils ont été traduits de l'original grec par l'auteur, à l'exception de quelques passages qui ont été traduits de l'anglais ou du français.

Les citations de l'œuvre de Théodore de Mopsueste ont été prises dans l'édition de la *Historia ecclesiastica* de Théodore de Mopsueste, publiée par la Société de Théologie de Berlin en 1881. Les citations de l'œuvre de Théodore de Mopsueste ont été prises dans l'édition de la *Historia ecclesiastica* de Théodore de Mopsueste, publiée par la Société de Théologie de Berlin en 1881.

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ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ

Il est de notre devoir de présenter l'ensemble des fragments de l'*Historia ecclesiastica* de Théodore de Mopsueste, ainsi que les sommaires limités à deux passages choisis attentivement aux deux extrémités de l'ouvrage : pour le début du livre I, les fragments 336 à 353 Hansen, depuis l'année 432 jusqu'à la mort de Théodore II en 450, et pour la fin du livre IV et de l'œuvre de Théodore le Leucote, les fragments 409 à 424 Hansen, depuis l'année 511/512 jusqu'à l'avènement de Justin en 518.

Dans la colonne de gauche, figurent les fragments de Théodore conservés dans l'*Epistola*, dans celle de droite, les passages correspondants de Théophraste, ainsi que quelques autres parallèles parmi les plus significatifs. Les passages communs sont donnés en italiques, tandis que les marques de divers rapporté ou plus généralement celles d'une intervention de l'épistolier sont soulignées d'un trait.

Επιστολή de Θεόδωρος II (Ier, 2e, 3e, 4e, 5e, 6e, 7e, 8e, 9e, 10e, 11e, 12e, 13e, 14e, 15e, 16e, 17e, 18e, 19e, 20e, 21e, 22e, 23e, 24e, 25e, 26e, 27e, 28e, 29e, 30e, 31e, 32e, 33e, 34e, 35e, 36e, 37e, 38e, 39e, 40e, 41e, 42e, 43e, 44e, 45e, 46e, 47e, 48e, 49e, 50e, 51e, 52e, 53e, 54e, 55e, 56e, 57e, 58e, 59e, 60e, 61e, 62e, 63e, 64e, 65e, 66e, 67e, 68e, 69e, 70e, 71e, 72e, 73e, 74e, 75e, 76e, 77e, 78e, 79e, 80e, 81e, 82e, 83e, 84e, 85e, 86e, 87e, 88e, 89e, 90e, 91e, 92e, 93e, 94e, 95e, 96e, 97e, 98e, 99e, 100e, 101e, 102e, 103e, 104e, 105e, 106e, 107e, 108e, 109e, 110e, 111e, 112e, 113e, 114e, 115e, 116e, 117e, 118e, 119e, 120e, 121e, 122e, 123e, 124e, 125e, 126e, 127e, 128e, 129e, 130e, 131e, 132e, 133e, 134e, 135e, 136e, 137e, 138e, 139e, 140e, 141e, 142e, 143e, 144e, 145e, 146e, 147e, 148e, 149e, 150e, 151e, 152e, 153e, 154e, 155e, 156e, 157e, 158e, 159e, 160e, 161e, 162e, 163e, 164e, 165e, 166e, 167e, 168e, 169e, 170e, 171e, 172e, 173e, 174e, 175e, 176e, 177e, 178e, 179e, 180e, 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679e, 680e, 681e, 682e, 683e, 684e, 685e, 686e, 687e, 688e, 689e, 690e, 691e, 692e, 693e, 694e, 695e, 696e, 697e, 698e, 699e, 700e, 701e, 702e, 703e, 704e, 705e, 706e, 707e, 708e, 709e, 710e, 711e, 712e, 713e, 714e, 715e, 716e, 717e, 718e, 719e, 720e, 721e, 722e, 723e, 724e, 725e, 726e, 727e, 728e, 729e, 730e, 731e, 732e, 733e, 734e, 735e, 736e, 737e, 738e, 739e, 740e, 741e, 742e, 743e, 744e, 745e, 746e, 747e, 748e, 749e, 750e, 751e, 752e, 753e, 754e, 755e, 756e, 757e, 758e, 759e, 760e, 761e, 762e, 763e, 764e, 765e, 766e, 767e, 768e, 769e, 770e, 771e, 772e, 773e, 774e, 775e, 776e, 777e, 778e, 779e, 780e, 781e, 782e, 783e, 784e, 785e, 786e, 787e, 788e, 789e, 790e, 791e, 792e, 793e, 794e, 795e, 796e, 797e, 798e, 799e, 800e, 801e, 802e, 803e, 804e, 805e, 806e, 807e, 808e, 809e, 810e, 811e, 812e, 813e, 814e, 815e, 816e, 817e, 818e, 819e, 820e, 821e, 822e, 823e, 824e, 825e, 826e, 827e, 828e, 829e, 830e, 831e, 832e, 833e, 834e, 835e, 836e, 837e, 838e, 839e, 840e, 841e, 842e, 843e, 844e, 845e, 846e, 847e, 848e, 849e, 850e, 851e, 852e, 853e, 854e, 855e, 856e, 857e, 858e, 859e, 860e, 861e, 862e, 863e, 864e, 865e, 866e, 867e, 868e, 869e, 870e, 871e, 872e, 873e, 874e, 875e, 876e, 877e, 878e, 879e, 880e, 881e, 882e, 883e, 884e, 885e, 886e, 887e, 888e, 889e, 890e, 891e, 892e, 893e, 894e, 895e, 896e, 897e, 898e, 899e, 900e, 901e, 902e, 903e, 904e, 905e, 906e, 907e, 908e, 909e, 910e, 911e, 912e, 913e, 914e, 915e, 916e, 917e, 918e, 919e, 920e, 921e, 922e, 923e, 924e, 925e, 926e, 927e, 928e, 929e, 930e, 931e, 932e, 933e, 934e, 935e, 936e, 937e, 938e, 939e, 940e, 941e, 942e, 943e, 944e, 945e, 946e, 947e, 948e, 949e, 950e, 951e, 952e, 953e, 954e, 955e, 956e, 957e, 958e, 959e, 960e, 961e, 962e, 963e, 964e, 965e, 966e, 967e, 968e, 969e, 970e, 971e, 972e, 973e, 974e, 975e, 976e, 977e, 978e, 979e, 980e, 981e, 982e, 983e, 984e, 985e, 986e, 987e, 988e, 989e, 990e, 991e, 992e, 993e, 994e, 995e, 996e, 997e, 998e, 999e, 1000e, 1001e, 1002e, 1003e, 1004e, 1005e, 1006e, 1007e, 1008e, 1009e, 1010e, 1011e, 1012e, 1013e, 1014e, 1015e, 1016e, 1017e, 1018e, 1019e, 1020e, 1021e, 1022e, 1023e, 1024e, 1025e, 1026e, 1027e, 1028e, 1029e, 1030e, 1031e, 1032e, 1033e, 1034e, 1035e, 1036e, 1037e, 1038e, 1039e, 1040e, 1041e, 1042e, 1043e, 1044e, 1045e, 1046e, 1047e, 1048e, 1049e, 1050e, 1051e, 1052e, 1053e, 1054e, 1055e, 1056e, 1057e, 1058e, 1059e, 1060e, 1061e, 1062e, 1063e, 1064e, 1065e, 1066e, 1067e, 1068e, 1069e, 1070e, 1071e, 1072e, 1073e, 1074e, 1075e, 1076e, 1077e, 1078e, 1079e, 1080e, 1081e, 1082e, 1083e, 1084e, 1085e, 1086e, 1087e, 1088e, 1089e, 1090e, 1091e, 1092e, 1093e, 1094e, 1095e, 1096e, 1097e, 1098e, 1099e, 1100e, 1101e, 1102e, 1103e, 1104e, 1105e, 1106e, 1107e, 1108e, 1109e, 1110e, 1111e, 1112e, 1113e, 1114e, 1115e, 1116e, 1117e, 1118e, 1119e, 1120e, 1121e, 1122e, 1123e, 1124e, 1125e, 1126e, 1127e, 1128e, 1129e, 1130e, 1131e, 1132e, 1133e, 1134e, 1135e, 1136e, 1137e, 1138e, 1139e, 1140e, 1141e, 1142e, 1143e, 1144e, 1145e, 1146e, 1147e, 1148e, 1149e, 1150e, 1151e, 1152e, 1153e, 1154e, 1155e, 1156e, 1157e, 1158e, 1159e, 1160e, 1161e, 1162e, 1163e, 1164e, 1165e, 1166e, 1167e, 1168e, 1169e, 1170e, 1171e, 1172e, 1173e, 1174e, 1175e, 1176e, 1177e, 1178e, 1179e, 1180e, 1181e, 1182e, 1183e, 1184e, 1185e, 1186e, 1187e, 1188e, 1189e, 1190e, 1191e, 1192e, 1193e, 1194e, 1195e, 1196e, 1197e, 1198e, 1199e, 1200e, 1201e, 1202e, 1203e, 1204e, 1205e, 1206e, 1207e, 1208e, 1209e, 1210e, 1211e, 1212e, 1213e, 1214e, 1215e, 1216e, 1217e, 1218e, 1219e, 1220e, 1221e, 1222e, 1223e, 1224e, 1225e, 1226e, 1227e, 1228e, 1229e, 1230e, 1231e, 1232e, 1233e, 1234e, 1235e, 1236e, 1237e, 1238e, 1239e, 1240e, 1241e, 1242e, 1243e, 1244e, 1245e, 1246e, 1247e, 1248e, 1249e, 1250e, 1251e, 1252e, 1253e, 1254e, 1255e, 1256e, 1257e, 1258e, 1259e, 1260e, 1261e, 1262e, 1263e, 1264e, 1265e, 1266e, 1267e, 1268e, 1269e, 1270e, 1271e, 1272e, 1273e, 1274e, 1275e, 1276e, 1277e, 1278e, 1279e, 1280e, 1281e, 1282e, 1283e, 1284e, 1285e, 1286e, 1287e, 1288e, 1289e, 1290e, 1291e, 1292e, 1293e, 1294e, 1295e, 1296e, 1297e, 1298e, 1299e, 1300e, 1301e, 1302e, 1303e, 1304e, 1305e, 1306e, 1307e, 1308e, 1309e, 1310e, 1311e, 1312e, 1313e, 1314e, 1315e, 1316e, 1317e, 1318e, 1319e, 1320e, 1321e, 1322e, 1323e, 1324e, 1325e, 1326e, 1327e, 1328e, 1329e, 1330e, 1331e, 1332e, 1333e, 1334e, 1335e, 1336e, 1337e, 1338e, 1339e, 1340e, 1341e, 1342e, 1343e, 1344e, 1345e, 1346e, 1347e, 1348e, 1349e, 1350e, 1351e, 1352e, 1353e, 1354e, 1355e, 1356e, 1357e, 1358e, 1359e, 1360e, 1361e, 1362e, 1363e, 1364e, 1365e, 1366e, 1367e, 1368e, 1369e, 1370e, 1371e, 1372e, 1373e, 1374e, 1375e, 1376e, 1377e, 1378e, 1379e, 1380e, 1381e, 1382e, 1383e, 1384e, 1385e, 1386e, 1387e, 1388e, 1389e, 1390e, 1391e, 1392e, 1393e, 1394e, 1395e, 1396e, 1397e, 1398e, 1399e, 1400e, 1401e, 1402e, 1403e, 1404e, 1405e, 1406e, 1407e, 1408e, 1409e, 1410e, 1411e, 1412e, 1413e, 1414e, 1415e, 1416e, 1417e, 1418e, 1419e, 1420e, 1421e, 1422e, 1423e, 1424e, 1425e, 1426e, 1427e, 1428e, 1429e, 1430e, 1431e, 1432e, 1433e, 1434e, 1435e, 1436e, 1437e, 1438e, 1439e, 1440e, 1441e, 1442e, 1443e, 1444e, 1445e, 1446e, 1447e, 1448e, 1449e, 1450e, 1451e, 1452e, 1453e, 1454e, 1455e, 1456e, 1457e, 1458e, 1459e, 1460e, 1461e, 1462e, 1463e, 1464e, 1465e, 1466e, 1467e, 1468e, 1469e, 1470e, 1471e, 1472e, 1473e, 1474e, 1475e, 1476e, 1477e, 1478e, 1479e, 1480e, 1481e, 1482e, 1483e, 1484e, 1485e, 1486e, 1487e, 1488e, 1489e, 1490e, 1491e, 1492e, 1493e, 1494e, 1495e, 1496e, 1497e, 1498e, 1499e, 1500e, 1501e, 1502e, 1503e, 1504e, 1505e, 1506e, 1507e, 1508e, 1509e, 1510e, 1511e, 1512e, 1513e, 1514e, 1515e, 1516e, 1517e, 1518e, 1519e, 1520e, 1521e, 1522e, 1523e, 1524e, 1525e, 1526e, 1527e, 1528e, 1529e, 1530e, 1531e, 1532e, 1533e, 1534e, 1535e, 1536e, 1537e, 1538e, 1539e, 1540e, 1541e, 1542e, 1543e, 1544e, 1545e, 1546e, 1547e, 1548e, 1549e, 1550e, 1551e, 1552e, 1553e, 1554e, 1555e, 1556e, 1557e, 1558e, 1559e, 1560e, 1561e, 1562e, 1563e, 1564e, 1565e, 1566e, 1567e, 1568e, 1569e, 1570e, 1571e, 1572e, 1573e, 1574e, 1575e, 1576e, 1577e, 1578e, 1579e, 1580e, 1581e, 1582e, 1583e, 1584e, 1585e, 1586e, 1587e, 1588e, 1589e, 1590e, 1591e, 1592e, 1593e, 1594e, 1595e, 1596e, 1597e, 1598e, 1599e, 1600e, 1601e, 1602e, 1603e, 1604e, 1605e, 1606e, 1607e, 1608e, 1609e, 1610e, 1611e, 1612e, 1613e, 1614e, 1615e, 1616e, 1617e, 1618e, 1619e, 1620e, 1621e, 1622e, 1623e, 1624e, 1625e, 1626e, 1627e, 1628e, 1629e, 1630e, 1631e, 1632e, 1633e, 1634e, 1635e, 1636e, 1637e, 1638e, 1639e, 1640e, 1641e, 1642e, 1643e, 1644e, 1645e, 1646e, 1647e, 1648e, 1649e, 1650e, 1651e, 1652e, 1653e, 1654e, 1655e, 1656e, 1657e, 1658e, 1659e, 1660e, 1661e, 1662e, 1663e, 1664e, 1665e, 1666e, 1667e, 1668e, 1669e, 1670e, 1671e, 1672e, 1673e, 1674e, 1675e, 1676e, 1677e, 1678e, 1679e, 1680e, 1681e, 1682e, 1683e, 1684e, 1685e, 1686e, 1687e, 1688e, 1689e, 1690e, 1691e, 1692e, 1693e, 1694e, 1695e, 1696e, 1697e, 1698e, 1699e, 1700e, 1701e, 1702e,
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<p>Théodore de Cyrène (Theod. Lect.) de 435 à 440</p>	<p>Théophane</p>
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Theodore le Lecteur (Theod. Lect.) de 511 à 518	Dionysius
ms. 502 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6005, p. 157 : Timothée se va avec le nom d'Alexandre et dépose et enlève celui de Théodore.
ms. 503 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6005, p. 157 : le comte Vitalien se fâche contre Anastase.
ms. 504 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6005, p. 157-158 : Juliana refuse d'entrer en communion avec Timothée.
ms. 505 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6005, p. 158 : Anastase humilie son neveu Pompée, défenseur du synode et soutien de Macédoigne.
ms. 506 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6005, p. 158 : les envoyés de Timothée à Alexandrie anathématisent le synode depuis l'autel.
ms. 507 (B) : Timothée nomme un nouvel higoumène du monastère de Simoudios ; conflit avec l'archidiacre manichéen Jean (?), qui dénonce Timothée auprès de l'empereur :	AM 6005, p. 158
τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Σιμουδίων τελευτήσαντος ἀπῆλθε Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον προβεβλησθαι ἡγουμένον. ὃ δὲ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι εἶπεν οὕτως ὥς οὐκ ἀνέξεται χειροτονίαν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς τῇ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀναθεματίζοντος σύνοδου. Τιμόθεος δὲ ἔφησεν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀποτροφόμενῳ ἢ ἀναθεματίζοντι τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον.	τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς τελευτήσαντος ἔαθε Τιμόθεος προβεβληθῆαι ἡγουμένῳ.
οὕτως οὖν ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖσθαι καταδέξατο. Ιωάννης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος μονιχαῖος ὑπάρχων ὤφρησε τὸν Τιμόθεον βόλλειν δορυρίῳ ταύτην τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμήνυσεν.	ὃ δὲ μέλλων προβιβάζεσθαι εἶπε μὴ δεχθῆαι εὐλογίαν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθετούτου τῇ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σίνωδῳ.
ὃ δὲ μετέπειτα ποησάμενος τὸν Τιμόθεον χαλεπῶς ταύτῳ ἐτίμασεν.	Τιμόθεος δὲ εἶπε· ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον.
οὕτως δὲ ἠρώησατο εἰπὼν· ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τῇ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σίνωδῳ δεχομένῳ	καὶ οὕτω προχειρισθήναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταδεξατο ὁ ἡγουμένος.
ms. 508 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	Ιωάννης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος Τιμοθεὺς μονιχαῖος ὢν ὀβρισεῖς Τιμόθεον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμήνυσεν.
ms. 509 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας Τιμόθεον χαλεπῶς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἠρωήμενον οὕτε καὶ πολλὰ ἀναθεματίζοντα τοῖς δεχομένοις τῇ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σίνωδοι.
ms. 510 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6006, p. 159 : L'empereur ordonne à des magistrats de proclamer l'addition du Trisagion depuis le pupitre de l'église de Saint-Théodore de Sphorakios à la grande colère de la foule.
ms. 511 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6006, p. 160 : Anastase invite le rebelle Vitalien à la paix, proposant le rappel des évêques exilés.
ms. 512 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6006, p. 160 : le patrice Secundinus supplie Vitalien d'assurer la sécurité de son fils Hyphantos.
ms. 513 (de Theoph.): absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6006, p. 160-161 : l'évêque de Rome Hormisdas envoie Simudios et l'archidiacre Vitalien au synode d'Héracle.

[illegible]

Théodore le Lecteur (Theod. Lect.) de 511 à 518	Théophane
fig. 515 (B) : s'élève d'un compatriote de Μασκεδονίου αριδός sa mort : Μασκεδονίου τελευτώντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου φοβερὸν τι συμβῆναι φησιν ἰακκί, ὁ ἱστορὸν Εἰσιπ. Καλλιστ' ὁ, νεκρὸν γὰρ ὄντα σφραγίσσασθαι τῷ σπυριδῶ. Θεοδώρου δὲ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἀνὰ ἴδεν ἐπομύσσειτο αὐτὸν Μασκεδόνιον ἀνὰ λέγοντα· ἔλαβε καὶ ἀνέλαθε, ὃ λέγειν ἀναστασίας ἀνέγνωθι, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας μου, ὧν καὶ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· σὺ παύσασθαι δὲ ὄχλων τῷ δοσπότῃ, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃς καὶ τὴν δίκην εἰσέλθομαι (avec mention de la source)	AM 6008, p. 162 : Μασκεδονίου νεκροῦ ἐκτελεσθέντος φησὶ τὴν χερσὶ σφραγίσσασθαι τῷ σπυριδῶ Θεοδώρου· δὲ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ εἰς αὐτὸν εἶδον· Μασκεδόνιον λέγουσιν αὐτῶν ἔλασθαι καὶ ἀπελθόντα ἀναγνῶνθαι ἀναστασίας καὶ εἰπεῖν·
* Mais attestés dans la lettre de Kallistos à Manuel Pashyrtos de 1276, voir Hansen, dans Theod. Lect., p. xxxiii.	ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας μου, ὧν τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· σὺ παύσασθαι δὲ ὄχλων τῷ δοσπότῃ, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃς καὶ εἰς οὐκην εἰσελθόντας
fig. 516 (P) : poste à Alexandrie; le peuple en attribue la cause à la colère de Dieu	absent de Théophane
fig. 517a (P) : Anastase ordonne à Élie, l'évêque de Jérusalem, d'entrer en communion avec Sévère d'A., ce qu'il refuse : ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέτιθεν Ἀναστάσιος· Ἠλίαν τὸν Ἱερουσαλήμων ἐπίσκοπον ἢ κοινωνήσαι Σευήρῳ ἢ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι, οἱ δὲ τῶν μοναστηρίων συνελθόντες τοῦτον ἀχρίωσαν καὶ διαμεριτύραντο, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μᾶλλον ἐκβληθῆναι προετίμησεν ἢ κοινωνήσαι Σευήρῳ	AM 6004, p. 156 : Ἠλίας δὲ ὁ Ἱερουσαλήμων ἐπίσκοπος ἀναγκασθήμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ Σευήρῳ κοινωνήσαι ἢ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι, τῶν μοναχῶν ὀχρωσάμενος αὐτόν, τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μᾶλλον ἡρετίστον ἐκβληθῆναι.
fig. 517b (de Theoph.) : la suite du passage est absente des manuscrits de l'Épitomé, et a été restituée par Hansen à partir de Théophane	AM 6004, p. 156 : election de Jean comme évêque de Jérusalem
fig. 518 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	AM 6005, p. 158-159 : un certain Anastase promet à l'empereur de persuader Jean de Jérusalem d'entrer en communion avec Sévère, mais sans succès
fig. 519 (de Synod.) : absent des manuscrits de l'Épitomé	absent de Théophane : attesté dans The Synodicon actus, text, transl., and notes by J. Duffy & J. Parker (CFHB 15), Dumbarton Oaks (1979), § 116 : Anastase exile les moines Théodore et Sabas, deux défenseurs de l'orthodoxie ; voir cependant AM 6005, p. 159, où il est question du moine Théodore et du soutien que lui accorde Hypatios, le neveu d'Anastase, chalcédonien
fig. 520 : lacune dans le manuscrit, la majeure partie est restituée par Hansen d'après Théophane, seule la fin du fig. figure en M :	AM 6008, p. 162 : mort d'Arême, l'épouse d'Anastase ; les moines du désert écrivent à l'empereur qu'ils préfèrent mourir que refuser la loi chalcédonienne :
- ὡμίκετον ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέχοντος, ἐπειτα καὶ δὲ ἡ μία τῶν πρὸς βασιλεὺς δηλοῦσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν δόξαν	ἐπεὶ πρὸς θάνατον ἵσταται ἔχουσιν, ὑπαρξίοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τούτους

[illegible]

<p>Theodore le Docteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518</p>	<p>Βασίλειος</p>
<p>108 624 (M VI) : mort d'Anastase, avènement de Justin</p>	<p>Act 610, p. 164 καὶ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας, ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ θ' ἐθέλωντος Ἀναστασίου ὁδοποιοῦντος βασιλεῦς βασίλειον, ἐπὶ αὐτῷ μηνὶ 5', καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ Διοκλητιανῷ</p>
<p>Justinienus, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ζήτησεν τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Justinienus, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πρωτοῦ τοῦ μηνὸς IV' τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅπου στρατιωτῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μὲν τῆς συγκλήτου ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑνὶ πάντων ἡμερῶν πρωτοῦ, αὐτῷ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ πλείονος ἡμερῶν ζήτησεν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν. Ἰλλυριὸς (ὁ δὲ ὅν B) il n'est pas fait mention du successeur d'Anastase)</p>	<p>καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν Justinienus ὁ κτισθεὶς ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρωτοῦ τοῦ μηνὸς καὶ πλείονος, ὅπου στρατιωτῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑνὶ τῶν συγκλήτου ἀρχόντων Ἰλλυριὸς τοῦ γένους τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι θύμῳ σιχητῷ κερματισθεὶς Ἀναστάσιος ἐβιβρόντηνος ἴσχυος</p>
<p>συνελθόντες ἔχον ὀνόματι Διοκλητιανῶν (Διοκλητιανῶν B), ὅν γινώσκουσιν Διοκλητιανῶν ὁ δὲ Διοκλητιανῶν</p>	<p>Act 611, p. 165 : καὶ οὕτως τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ, βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, αὐτοῦ ἡμερῶν ἀνὰ τὴν αὐτὴν, ζήτησεν, μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνης πλείονος ἡμερῶν καὶ ἐν πλείονος αὐτῷ μηνὶ σύνελθοντες δὲ ἔχον ὀνόματι Διοκλητιανῶν, αὐτῷ Διοκλητιανῶν οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ μηνὶ Διοκλητιανῶν</p>

De la lecture de ces tableaux se dégage un premier bilan : sur les trente et un fragments de Théodore étudiés, quinze (soit la moitié) offrent avec le texte de Théophane de telles similitudes, souvent au mot près, qu'une dépendance de l'un à l'autre semble incontestable ; seuls cinq d'entre eux appartiennent à la première série, et dix à la seconde. On pourra en outre remarquer que les fragments qui apparaissent dans plusieurs manuscrits de l'*Épitomè* sont assez rares : deux dans la première série, un seul dans la seconde, ce qui (m'a suggéré Marek Jankowiak) n'est pas sans poser le problème de la cohérence (ou de l'unicité) de l'ouvrage. Enfin, on notera que quatorze des fragments attribués par Hansen à l'*Épitomè* n'ont en fait pour seul témoin que le texte de Théophane (ainsi que quelques sources secondaires parallèles, principalement la *Chronique* de Victor Tunnunensis), et que ces fragments supposés se situent tous dans la seconde série (qui comprend 26 fragments), un constat propre à susciter de nouvelles interrogations.

À LA RECHERCHE DES SOURCES DE THÉOPHANTE : THÉODORE OU L'ÉPITOMATEUR?
REMARQUES SUR LA PRÉSENCE DE L'ÉPITOMATEUR

Restent cependant deux possibilités : d'abord, que Théophane n'ait pas eu entre les mains le texte même de Théodore, mais celui de l'*Épitomé*¹⁰, ou encore tout à la fois le texte original de Théodore et celui de son épitomateur; ensuite, que Théodore et Théophane aient puisé ces courtes notices à une même source, aujourd'hui perdue, indépendamment l'un de l'autre.

En fait, l'*Épigramme* se caractérise par la présence de son auteur, qui n'hésite pas à se manifester. Pour nous en tenir à notre corpus de référence, voici les passages où

9. C'est l'hypothèse retenue par MASQUELIER (1970, p. 135), comme il s'agit d'un compendium of ecclesiastical history, of which a substantial part consisted of an abridgement of two works of Hieronymus (1970, p. 135), que plus amplement à la note 4.

donc séparé de l'Occident : la frontière de la communion, pour eux, était la montagne appelée Suet, qui sépare Illyriens et Thraces. Jusqu'à cette montagne, la communion était sans discrimination, car la foi aussi n'était pas différente, mais au-delà ils n'étaient pas en communion les uns avec les autres. C'est dans une telle confusion qu'étaient alors la situation dans les Églises. Aussitôt après cela, l'empereur des parties occidentales fait connaître à son frère Constance ce qui s'était passé à Sardique, et il lui recommandait de rendre les sièges qui étaient les leurs à Paul et à Athanase. Mais comme Constance ne réagissait pas promptement à ce qu'il avait écrit, l'empereur des parties occidentales lui propose un choix : ou bien de recevoir Paul et Athanase à leur propre rang et de leur rendre leurs églises, ou bien, s'il ne le faisait pas, d'être son ennemi et de devoir s'attendre à la guerre. En apprenant cela, l'empereur d'Orient fut extrêmement inquiet. Ayant convoqué aussitôt plusieurs des évêques orientaux, il leur faisait connaître la position prise par son frère et leur demandait ce qu'il fallait faire. Ceux-ci dirent qu'il valait mieux restituer les églises aux partisans d'Athanase que de subir une guerre civile ; aussi, forcé par la nécessité, l'empereur convoquait Athanase auprès de lui. »

- Theodore, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, dans le *Manuscrit*, gr. 344, fol. 81^v, l. 25–82^v, l. 14 [texte grec ici abrégé] : « οἱ μὲντοι ἐν τῇ Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντες καὶ ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει τῆς Θράκης ἰδίᾳζον συναδράσκοντες, τὰ ἀκούοντα αὐτοῖς ἐκώτεροι πράξαντες κατὰ πόλεις τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἐκκλησίας [...] ὡς δὲ ὁ Κωνσταντῖος παρεῖλκεν πρὸς τὰ γραφόμενα, αἴρεσιν αὐθιγῶν προειθεὶς ὁ τῶν ἰσχυρίων ἀρχὸν βασιλεὺς ἢ δέχεσθαι τοὺς περὶ Παῦλον καὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἐκ τῆς πίστεως αἵρεσι καὶ ἀποδίδοναι αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ μὴ ποιοῦντα τοῦτο ἐχθρὸν τοῦ καὶ προσδεχέσθαι πάλαιον [...] ὅθεν εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε πρὸς ἐαυτὸν Ἀθανάσιον [texte quasiment identique à celui de Sozomène]. »
- ἐκείνῃ (Theod. Lect.), fig. 71, p. 36 [texte complet] : τῆς ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθούσης συναδράσκοντες τὴν ἀνατολικὴν ἀπὸδοκαστάντων καὶ συναχθέντες ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῇ ἀντιπρὸς ἡ ἐκείνῃ γινόμεναι μετ' ὀργῆς Κωνσταντῆς τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ ἢ Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανάσιῳ ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς θρόνους ἢ δέχεσθαι αὐτὸν πολεμοῦντα. ὅπερ φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κωνσταντῖος, τοὺς θρόνους ἀποδίδοναι τοῖς δικαίᾳ ἐπισκόποις προὔτιμῃσε. τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνέβη ἐκείνῃ τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς πίστεως καὶ πολεμίων Ἀθανάσιον καὶ Παῦλον. [...] le synode s'étant réuni à Sardique et les Orientaux s'étant séparés, ils étaient réunis à Philippiopolis, et chaque (partie) ayant fait ce qu'elle a fait, Constantin fut ainsi obligé à Constantin ou bien de rendre leurs trônes à Paul et à Athanasios, ou bien de combattre avec eux. Constance, effrayé, préféra restituer les trônes aux deux évêques, sur le conseil de ceux qui étaient des ennemis de la foi et des adversaires d'Athanasios et de Paul. On remarque ici le parric pris de l'épitomateur en l'absence de la foi orthodoxe et d'Athanasios. L'expression « ennemi de la foi » n'apparaissant nulle part dans l'original. Par ailleurs, on remarquera que la « colère » de Constance qui, au fig. 68, le hantait, il est, pour nous, sous le II^e établissement de Paul par Jules, devient, au fig. 71, la même de l'épitomateur, celle de Constantin envers Constance.
- Theodoret, p. 412, l. 10–11 : « οἱ μὲντοι ἐν τῇ Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντες ἀναιδῶς τὸν ἀνατολικὸν ἀπὸδοκαστάντων καὶ συναχθέντες ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει, τὸν ἀρχὸν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως ἀντιπρὸς ἡ ἐκείνῃ γινόμεναι μετ' ὀργῆς Κωνσταντῆς τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ ἢ Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανάσιῳ ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς θρόνους ἢ δέχεσθαι αὐτὸν πολεμοῦντα. ὅπερ φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κωνσταντῖος, τοὺς θρόνους ἀποδίδοναι τοῖς δικαίᾳ ἐπισκόποις προὔτιμῃσε. τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνέβη ἐκείνῃ τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς πίστεως καὶ πολεμίων Ἀθανάσιον καὶ Παῦλον. [...] les évêques de l'orient, réunis à Sardique, confortèrent

trônes à Athanase et à Paul ainsi qu'à Marcel d'Ancyre comme confessant l'*homoionion* et le défendant en alléguant que sa pensée n'avait pas été comprise de ses accusateurs. Après que le synode de Sardique eut pris ces mesures contre les Orientaux dissidents et eut conforté l'*homoionion*, Constance reçut en conséquence Athanase et Paul avec les honneurs et leur rendit leur propre trône. Ainsi, Athanase revint à Alexandrie et, après qu'il eut chassé Georges l'Arien, y fut accueilli avec joie.

Page 3

- Soz., III, 14, 31-35 (texte grec et traduction ici abrégés) : Ἀρμενίως δὲ καὶ Παφλαγονίῃσι καὶ τοῖς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος [...] Αὐτὸς δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιχώρους ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγονίῃ καὶ ἄλλοις αὐτοῦς ψηφίσασθαι τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν. « chez les Arméniens, les Paphlagoniens et les souverains du Pont-Euxin, Eustathe, qui gouverna l'Église de Sébaste d'Arménie, fut, dit-on, le fondateur de la vie monastique, et le mode d'existence qu'elle requiert, les aliments dont il faut user et ceux dont il faut s'abstenir, le vêtement qu'on doit porter, la rigueur des mœurs et du genre de vie, c'est lui qui les introduisit au point que certains soutiennent qu'il est l'auteur du *Livre ascétique* attribué à Basile de Cappadoce. On dit que par sa grande rigueur il tomba en des observances déraisonnables, totalement étrangères aux lois ecclésiastiques. D'autres cependant le déchargent de cette accusation, mais incriminent certains de ses disciples comme blâmant le mariage, [...] jeûnant le dimanche, célébrant le culte dans des maisons, déclarant les riches exclus une fois pour toutes du Royaume de Dieu, ahominant ceux qui mangent de la viande, ne supportant pas de revêtir des tuniques et robes ordinaires [...]. Pour ces raisons donc les évêques des régions voisines se réunirent à Gangres, métropole de Paphlagonie, et les déclarèrent étrangers à l'Église catholique... »
 - Théodore, *Histoire tripartite*, dans le *Patr. gr.* 344, fol. 89^v, l. 29-90^r, l. 18 : Ἀρμενίως δὲ καὶ Παφλαγονίῃσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος [...] Αὐτὸς δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιχώρους ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγονίῃ καὶ ἄλλοις αὐτοῦς ψηφίσασθαι τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν. Le texte est quasiment identique à celui de Sozomène.
 - *Épitomé* [Theod. Lect.], frg. 73, p. 37 : τὰ ἀσκητικὰ βασιλείου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις οὐσί τινες Εὐστάθιου εἶναι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σεβαστείας τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἧ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ὁσίως βιώσαντι. Βασιλείος δὲ ὁ θεῖος ἐν πλείοσιν ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς αἰρετικοῦ τοῦ Εὐσταθίου καθάπτεται, « certains prétendent que les *Ascetici* de saint Basile sont [de la main] d'Eustathe, l'évêque de Sébaste d'Arménie; l'historien [i.e. Théodore, base de l'*Épitomé*, plutôt que sa source, Sozomène] témoigne aussi qu'il [i.e. Eustathe] a vécu saintement. Le divin Basile, dans plusieurs lettres, s'en prend à lui comme à un hérétique » (cf. Basile, *Epist.* 130, 1 : « il s'est arraché de notre communion »).
 - Absent de Théophane.
- On constate une grande divergence entre le texte original de Théodore, qui démarque entièrement Sozomène, et celui de l'*Épitomé*, qui prend sur lui d'ajouter un détail qu'ignorent Sozomène et Théodore, à savoir la condamnation d'Eustathe non pas tou-

par une assemblée des évêques du Pont et des régions avoisinantes, mais par Eusèbe de Césarée lui-même dans des lettres.

[fig. 63]

[fig. 63, 1] Le texte grec et traduction ici abrégés : Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ τὴν πατρὶαν ἐφυλάττειν δόξαν ἄμφω γὰρ ἐπείνετο τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως ὅτι. Κωνσταντὸς οὐκ οὕτω διαμείνεις ἐταπεινῶν. Κωνσταντίνος δὲ μέχρι μὲν τινος ὁμοίας τῆς ἀπὸ πατρὸς διδασκαλίας τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξεως τῆς προτέρως παρεκινήθη [...]. Ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιοῦτων καὶ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετεπίσθη. « Quoi qu'il en soit, peut-être que finalement le dogme même, les empereurs [i.e. Constantin et Constance] possèdent d'abord l'approbation de leur père : tous deux en effet approuvaient la foi de Nicée. Constance persistait ainsi jusqu'à la mort. Constance, lui, jusqu'à une certaine date, pensa de même. Puis, comme on avait attaqué le terme *homoousios*, il quitta son propre sentiment, cependant, il ne refusa pas entièrement de convenir que le Fils est semblable en substance au Père. Les partisans d'Eusèbe [i.e. d'Émèse?] en arrivèrent à cette persuasion que l'on admettait alors en Orient pour leur éloquence et leur force d'argumentation : comme nous l'avons appris, une différence entre dire le Fils d'une même substance et le dire semblable quant à l'essence (κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον), ce qui ne faisait pas la même chose. [...] C'est sous l'influence de tels hommes que l'empereur Constance lui-même changea d'opinion [μετεπίσθη]. »

[fig. 63, 2] Texte grec ici abrégé : τὸ αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ πρῶτον τὴν πατρὶαν ἐφυλάττειν δόξαν [...]. Ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιοῦτων καὶ Κωνσταντίνος μετεπίσθη (le texte de Sozomène est suivi de très près).

[fig. 63, 3] Texte grec ici abrégé : Κωνσταντίνος πρῶτον δεχόμενος τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἐκ πατρὸς μετέβαλεν οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν ἀποφασίζων ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον πρῶτον ἐπαρτήθη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετεπέσθη τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν. « Constance, qui avait d'abord accepté l'*homoousios*, changea plus tard de position, non pas par le fruit d'un nouveau jugement, comme l'indique l'historien [i.e. Théodore], plutôt que « comme Sozomène », mais plutôt parce qu'il était convaincu par les arguments d'Eusèbe sur le point de la nature divine. Sur ces points, voir [i.e. Théodore] et les autres. Il recourut beaucoup d'autres témoignages à la louange de Constance. »

[fig. 63, 4] Texte grec ici abrégé : Κωνσταντίνος δὲ πρῶτον δεχόμενος τὸ ὁμοούσιον ὕστερον μετέβαλεν ἀποφασίζων οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀποφασίζον καὶ εἰσαβίων, τοῖς οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Κωνσταντίνος ἐπαρτήθη καὶ τότε περὶ αὐτοῦ. « Constance, qui avait d'abord accepté l'*homoousios*, changea plus tard sa position par légèreté d'esprit et par la persuasion d'Eusèbe le premier de ses ennemis, d'Eusèbe de Césarée et de ses collègues. »

Les empereurs par leur position relative à l'égard des opinions telle que la présentaient les auteurs de l'époque [i.e. Sozomène] et non de l'*homoousios*.

La présence de l'expression « l'historien » (ὁ ἱστορῶν) (fig. 63), « l'historien de l'épiscopat » (ὁ ἐπισκοπῶν) (fig. 63), « les ennemis de la foi »

(fig. 71) dans un cas (l'*Épitomé*) et son absence dans l'autre (la *Tripartite* de Théodore dans son texte original et ses différentes sources) montrent à l'évidence qu'elles vont des additions de l'épitomateur, qui indique qu'il a repris à « un historien » non seulement la substance de son récit, mais aussi, parfois, sa formulation et le jugement ou le parti pris qu'elle implique à ses yeux.

On remarquera que, dans les quatre extraits choisis, le texte de Théophane ne comporte pas ces marques de discours rapporté que nous venons de souligner et qui auraient indiqué, si elles avaient été présentes, une utilisation par le Confesseur de l'*Épitomé* plutôt que des textes sources de Socrate, Sozomène ou bien plutôt Théodore. Qu'en est-il ailleurs ? Reprenons notre corpus de référence, à savoir les fragments 336-353 et 499-524 de Théodore via l'*Épitomé*, et ne retenons que les sept passages qui ont un parallèle exact chez Théophane et qui contiennent des marques de discours rapporté. Parmi ces sept,

- cinq ne contiennent pas de marque de discours rapporté au sein des passages correspondants de Théophane :
 - fig. 342 : « il dit que Cyrille a été évêque durant 30 années » : mention absente de Théophane, p. 97,27-33, qui se contente d'une notation chronologique : ἀναστρέφειν ἐπίσκοπος Κύριλλος ἔτη λβ' en début de notice, et d'indiquer plus loin la mort de Cyrille ;
 - fig. 346 : « l'historien a repris les ordonnances de Théodose contre Dioscore et le synode » : mention absente de la *Chronique* de Théophane et, évidemment, de Socrate et de Sozomène ;
 - fig. 350 : « la lettre (de Théodose à Valentinien ou Flavien) est reprise » : mention absente de la *Chronique* de Théophane et, évidemment, de Socrate et de Sozomène ;
 - fig. 352 : « au sujet de l'empereur Théodose, l'historien rapporte qu'il était docile et influençable... » : l'anecdote figure bien chez Théophane, p. 104,13-17, mais pas la mention de l'historien source ;
 - fig. 499 : « Jean Diaconoménos rapporte (ιστορεῖ) au sujet de Sévère que l'empereur Anastase... » : Jean Diaconoménos n'est mentionné nulle part chez Théophane.
- deux contiennent des marques de discours rapporté :
 - fig. 515 : « À la mort de l'évêque Macédonios, il dit (voir l'historien dit) qu'il arriva quelque chose de terrible » : l'anecdote figure chez Théophane, p. 162, avec la marque du discours rapporté, mais employée au pluriel (« ils disent, on dit que... ») ;
 - fig. 521 : « Il faut savoir que l'historien (ὁ ἱστορῶν) appelle "patriarche" l'évêque de Thessalonique, je ne sais pas pourquoi », passage où sont distingués l'historien source (ὁ ἱστορῶν) et l'épitomateur, qui se désigne à la première personne (ἐγὼ οὖν). Ce serait la preuve que Théophane cite ici Théodore par le truchement de l'épitomateur.

La présence de marques de discours rapporté communes à Théophane et à l'*Épitomé*, même réduites à deux (fig. 515 et 521), prouve désormais sans conteste possible que le Confesseur a bel et bien utilisé l'*Épitomé*, soit seul, soit en complément de l'œuvre originelle de Théodore, et en sachant parfaitement que sa source, directe ou indirecte, était Théodore, Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς, comme il le désigne p. 162,24-25.

L'HISTORIEN « SOURCE DE L'ÉPITOMÉ » SE RAMÈNE-T-IL AU SEUL THÉODORE ?

Demain cependant une question : l'« historien » en question (la catégorie mentionnée par l'épitomateur est-il unique, ou bien cette formule renvoie-t-elle à une pluralité de

de Veron, non publié, cod. *Maritimus* gr. 344, fol. 89^v-90^r, recopiant également nos pour nos S. III, t. 1, 31-35; bien évidemment, ni le texte de Socrôme ni celui de Théodore ne mentionnent la source. Il est donc vraisemblable que l'épitomateur désigne par *επιτομή*, Théodore lui-même.

de l'épitomé, fig. 77 de l'*Épitomé* : à propos du « mauvais jugement » qui aurait conduit Constant à abandonner l'*homonimie* pour l'*homonie*; repris du livre II de l'*Histoire* d'Épiphane, cod. *Manichaeus* gr. 344 fol. 93, qui ne contient évidemment pas non plus le renvoi à l'historien; celui-ci ne peut donc être le fait que de l'épitomateur; enfin de l'épitomé, fig. 148 de l'*Épitomé*, renvoyant à Socr., III, 7, 1-10 ou à Socr., V, 12, 3; enfin de l'épitomé, fig. 193 de l'*Épitomé*, renvoyant à l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodoret et à Théodoret *Histoire ecclésiastique*, IV, 11-13;

au singulier est repris quelques lignes plus bas par un *quoī* accordé au cas même du *lān* pluriel ne renvoie pas nécessairement à une pluralité de sources (Théodore + Syméon), mais plutôt à une source indéterminée, même si, dans le *synagoga*, le *lān* est mentionnée plus haut (à savoir à *iōtopāw*):

pour les besoins de l'Éparchie, renvoyant à l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore et
aux Actes VII, 18-20 sq.

Ces passages permettent de distinguer :

- L'apocryphe *Apocalypse*, qui cite sa source, à savoir Théodore;
- Le *nomos* direct de l'apocryphe, c'est-à-dire Théodore, qualifié de *ô iotopôn, ô iotopôn*.

Il est en revanche plus difficile de dire avec certitude si les documents auxquels fait allusion Théodore, soit les lettres des évêques (frg. 339 ; 426 ; 431) ou du souverain (frg. 330-332), figuraient auparavant dans les sources de Théodore (à savoir Socrate, Sozomène et Théodoret) ou s'ils avaient été repris par Théodore dans sa *Tripartite*. Seuls les frgs. I et II de la *Tripartite* de Théodore permettent d'en juger. Or, il apparaît sans doute que Théodore reproduisant les lettres qu'avaient insérées les historiens ou publicistes, évêques ou rois, dans les sources, comme le montrent ces deux exemples :

- Théodore, *Histoire ecclésiastique* I, 3, 1 [Alexandre d'Alexandrie écrit aux chefs des Églises pour démentir l'erreur, la lettre n'est pas insérée] + Sozomène, I, 6, 4-30 [texte de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie]. Cités par Théodore, livre I, dans le *Discours* 100 (l. 23-24) sq. (l. 24) : *Ἐπεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον ἄλλοις ἐκείνων ἀλλήλων ὁρῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστολὴν ἐκείνων* [le contenu de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie n'est pas insérée]. Théodore, I, 13, 7 sq. *Ἐπειτα τοῖς ἐκείνων καὶ τιμωροῦσι τοὺς ἀποστολὰς ἐκείνων* [Alexandre d'Alexandrie écrit aux évêques d'Asie pour démentir l'erreur]. Théodore, I, 13, 7 sq. [citation de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie n'est pas insérée]. Théodore, I, 13, 7 sq. [citation de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie n'est pas insérée].

ἐπίλογχος τῶν μοχθηρῶν ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ. [texte de la lettre d'Alexandre à Alexandre de Byzance tirée de Théodoret].

Mais l'*Épitomé* tel qu'il est actuellement conservé ne contient le texte d'aucune lettre. L'épitomateur a lu de semblables documents chez Théodore, mais il n'a pas jugé bon de les reproduire, ni même de les abréger, se contentant de les mentionner.

On peut en déduire que l'épitomateur n'a pas pris la peine de se référer aux auteurs originaux, Socrate, Sozomène et Théodoret, mais que son unique source est l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore, autrement plus ample et documentée que l'actuel *Építome* pourrait le laisser accroire.

THÉOPHANE A-T-IL EU UN ACCÈS DIRECT À L'ŒUVRE DE JEAN DIACRYNOMÈNES?

Théodore, seule source de l'épitomateur pour la série des fragments 1 à 524? Cette conclusion achoppe sur une difficulté : le fragment 499 attribue le récit non pas à Théodore (comme l'ensemble de la série), mais à Jean Diaconoménos (dont les fragments recensés correspondent seulement à la partie finale de l'*Épitomè* [fig. 525-561]) et sont dûment annoncés comme tels (« de Jean Diaconoménos tout ce que j'ai identifié de ses écrits ») çà et là comme tout à fait indispensables – De son premier livre « 1. La question est donc de savoir si l'*Épitomè* a emprunté le passage en question directement à Jean, ou s'il le tient de Jean par l'intermédiaire de Théodore.

Voici le passage en question :

fig. 499 (B) de Théodote : Jean Diacrinoménos rapporte (ιστορεῖ), au sujet de Sèvre, que l'empereur Anastase obtint de lui que, s'il devenait évêque d'Antioche, il ne s'en prendrait aucunement (οὐδὲν ἂν πειται) au synode de Chalcédoine par l'anathème, et (il rapporte aussi) que le jour même de son élection, montans à l'ambon, il prononça contre lui l'anathème, à la demande de ses partisans.

Nous n'avons pas le texte original de Théodore pour effectuer la comparaison, mais seulement celui que l'*Épitomè* attribue directement à Jean Diacrinomènos, précisant qu'il figurait au livre X de son *Histoire ecclésiastique* :

fig. 561 de Jean Diacrinoménos : *Sévère ayant prêté serment à l'empereur Anastase qu'il ne provoquerait jamais aucun trouble (ὡδὲν κινῆσαι ποτε) contre le synode de Chalcédoine, le jour même où il fut élu, violant son serment, il l'anathématisa.*

Deux solutions s'offrent à nous :

- ou bien la mention « Jean Diacrinoménos rapporte que » du fragment 499 est une précision apportée par l'épitomateur, qui connaissait aussi l'œuvre de Jean Diacrinoménos (il en donne des extraits à la suite de ceux de Théodore, et en les lui attribuant nommément) ;
- ou bien cette mention est le fait de Théodore, et Jean doit être considéré comme l'une de ses sources.

Ce second plan n'est pas à exclure, étant donné que plusieurs des fragments de Jean Diacroniménos ont leur correspondant chez Théodore, qui a fort bien pu les connaître son contemporain, malgré des choix doctrinaux totalement divergents :

Jean Diacroniménos (d'après l' <i>Épitomé</i>)	Théodore, <i>HP</i> (d'après l' <i>Épitomé</i>)
fig. 537 (M) : Trésor des Hommes (Vient)	absent
fig. 538 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 539 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 540 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 541 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 542 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 543 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 544 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 545 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 546 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 547 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 548 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 549 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 550 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 551 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 552 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 553 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 554 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 555 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 556 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 557 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 558 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 559 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 560 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 561 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 562 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 563 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 564 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 565 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 566 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 567 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 568 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 569 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 570 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 571 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 572 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 573 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 574 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 575 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 576 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 577 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 578 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 579 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 580 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 581 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 582 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 583 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 584 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 585 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 586 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 587 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 588 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 589 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 590 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 591 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 592 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 593 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 594 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 595 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 596 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 597 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 598 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 599 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 600 (M B) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent

Jean Diacroniménos (d'après l' <i>Épitomé</i>)	Théodore, <i>HP</i> (d'après l' <i>Épitomé</i>)
fig. 537 (M) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la doctrine de Cyrille et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	absent
fig. 538 (M B) : controverse entre un évêque orthodoxe et un évêque arien	absent de Théodore; repus moi par Syn. Log., 102, 12, p. 136 v. et Nicéphore Callixe, XV, 23, PC, 147, col. 68
fig. 539 (M) : louanges adressées par Jean l'Historien à l'empereur	absent
fig. 540 (M) : Pierre le Foulon élu évêque d'Antioche par la volonté de Zénon	cf. fig. 443 (texte très différent)
fig. 541 (M) : meurtre à Hiérapolis des émissaires apportant l'édit de l'usurpateur Basiliscos, antichalcédonien	absent
fig. 542 (M B) : Pierre le Moine fait exhumier la dépouille de Timothée Salophaciote, Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν Μογγὸν τὸ λείψανον Τιμοθέου τοῦ Σ. ἀνορύξαι, ὑπερ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Θεόδωρος	fig. 425 (un peu plus développé) Πέτρος ὁ Μογγὸς... Τιμοθέου δὲ τὸ λείψανον ἀρίστως ἐκ τοῦ τάφου τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἰδιωτικὸν τάφον ἀπέθετο
fig. 543 (M B) : expulsion de Pierre le Moine et élection de Jean (le Tabénessiot); Jean chassé à son tour, Pierre revient et promet de ne pas anathématiser le synode	cf. fig. 417 : élection de Jean (texte très différent) cf. fig. 422 : les partisans de Pierre font expulser Jean et rappeler Pierre : οἱ Π. σπουδασταὶ πείθουσι βασιλέα ἐκλεῖσθαι ὥστε Ἰωάννην τὸν Τ. ἐξελαθῆναι ὡς παρὰ τούτου γνώμην προχειρισθέντα, Π. δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσφιλίου μεταπέμψανθαι
fig. 544 (M B) : Calendion élu évêque de Byzance	cf. fig. 421 (= texte de Théophane)
fig. 545 (M B) : addition par Calendion de Χριστὲ βασιλεὺς à la formule du trisagion: Καλιενδίουνα λέγει προσθέναι τῇ τρισαγίῃ Χριστὲ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῖς προσεθεσκότας ὁ στανροθέις δι' ἡμῶς	fig. 427 (texte très proche, mais plus complet) Πέτρον προσθήκη· ἡδὴ πρότερον ποιησαμένου ἐν τῇ τρισαγίᾳ ὁ στανροθέις δι' ἡμῶς Καλιενδίου ὅπως πολλοὺς σκευδαλιζομένους προσέθηκε Χριστὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ στανροθέις δι' ἡμῶς
fig. 546 (M) : Bas traduit en syriaque les ouvrages de Théodore	absent
fig. 547 (M B) : Pierre le Foulon introduit quatre monnaies, dont la récitation du symbole durant les synodes : Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν Κουφρὰ ἐπισημαίνει τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν... καὶ εἰς Θεοτοκόν... καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀναγίγναι τὸ σὺμβολον λέγεσθαι	fig. 428 (mention d'une seule monnaie) τὸ σὺμβολον ἐν πύρι ἀναγίγναι ἐν παντί· Πέτρος ὁ Κουφρὰς ἐπισημαίνει λέγεσθαι πρότερον μὴ ἀναγίγναι

Jean Diaconomémenos (d'après l'Épitomé)	Theodore, HE (d'après l'Épitomé)
fig. 523 (M B) : Zénon fait ériger des statues (statues) à l'honneur de son oncle Zénon (statues) (statues)	cf. fig. 439 : l'école d'Édessa, de tendance nestoricienne (mention : ὡς οὐκ οὐκ)
fig. 524 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	cf. fig. 433-434 : Félix dépose ses légats qui ont cédé aux pressions de Zénon et d'Acace
fig. 525 (M B) : Zénon refuse la présence d'images de saints en son Église	cf. fig. 444 (de Theoph.)
fig. 526 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 527 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 528 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 529 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 530 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 531 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 532 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 533 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 534 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 535 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 536 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 537 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 538 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
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fig. 541 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
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fig. 544 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 545 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
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fig. 547 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 548 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 549 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 550 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 551 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 552 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 553 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 554 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 555 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 556 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 557 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 558 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 559 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 560 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 561 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 562 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 563 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 564 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 565 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 566 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 567 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 568 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 569 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 570 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 571 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 572 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 573 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 574 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 575 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 576 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 577 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 578 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 579 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 580 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 581 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 582 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 583 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 584 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 585 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 586 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 587 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 588 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 589 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 590 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 591 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 592 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 593 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 594 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 595 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 596 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 597 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 598 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 599 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent
fig. 600 (M B) : Zénon refuse de payer une somme à Zénon, qui de son côté le paye	absent

Deux remarques s'imposent :

- tout d'abord, l'épitomateur, selon son habitude, indique plusieurs fois sa source, à savoir l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Jean, soit nominativement, soit par la marque du discours rapporté : fig. 526 ; 529 ; 531 ; 532 ; 533 ; 534 (qui tend à prouver qu'il connaît par une lecture directe l'œuvre de Jean, puisqu'il précise que ce dernier citait un document) ; 537 ; 539 ; 541 ; 542 ; 544 ; 545 ; 546 ; 547 ; 548 ; 549 ; 556 ;
- ensuite, l'épitomateur établit un parallèle entre Théodore et Jean : fig. 542 (cod. M et B) ; 544 (cod. M et B), ce qui revient à dire qu'il connaît les deux œuvres.

Mais il n'est pas impossible que Théodore ait lui-même eu connaissance de l'œuvre de Jean, qui est son contemporain, comme tendrait à le montrer le fragment 499, déjà cité, conservé uniquement dans le codex *Baroccianus*, au sein de la série des fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore. L'anecdote figure dans les fragments de Jean sélectionnés par l'épitomateur (fig. 561), mais de façon moins complète. Il serait donc étrange que l'épitomateur ait complété les fragments de Théodore à l'aide de renseignements plus amples que ceux qu'il avait choisis en puisant dans le texte même de Jean. Il paraît donc tout à fait plausible que ce fût Théodore qui ait emprunté à Jean ces détails, et que l'épitomateur ait jugé bon de conserver ce témoignage indirect.

Cette hypothèse d'emprunts de Théodore à Jean peut éventuellement s'appuyer sur la comparaison du texte de Jean avec celui de Théophane.

Jean Diaconomémenos (d'après l'Épitomé)	Theophane
fig. 525	—
fig. 526 : Jean d'Antioche prononce la destruction de Memnon et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	p. 90 (ann. 432/433) texte différent : le détail du lieu manque
fig. 527	absent
fig. 528 : Nestorius meurt en exil rongé par la putréfaction : σηπεδόνι τὸ σῶμα διεφθόρη	p. 92,3-5 (ann. 432/433) même texte, avec variantes : σηπεδόνι τῶν μελῶν πάντων μάλιστα δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς πρὸς τὴν διεφθόρη τῶ θανάτῳ προελθόν την ὁπὸ Ὀύσεως ἀνάκλησιν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον
fig. 529 : Théodore rédige (συγγράφει) son ouvrage condamnant les 12 chapitres de Cyrille	p. 90 texte différent : Theodore, par méinterprétation, « vomit le poison de Nestorius » contre Cyrille
fig. 530	absent
fig. 531	absent
fig. 532 : Pulchérie fait transférer les reliques de Nasic	p. 102 (ann. 449/450) formulation différente
fig. 533	absent
fig. 534	absent
fig. 535 : les moines d'Égypte rejettent pour la nouveauté de sa pratique (la κινία), puis acceptent de nous dans la communion l'ascète Syméon	p. 112 texte différent : mort de Syméon, mention de la nouveauté de sa pratique et de sa ascète
fig. 536	absent
fig. 537	absent

Texte (numéroté et intitulé)	Théophraste
Fig. 19	absent
Fig. 20	absent
Fig. 20b. Pierre le Grand, élu Empereur d'Arménie par le sénat de Zénon	p. 121 (ann. 474/475) text très différent cf. p. 133-134 (ann. 480/481) Zénon réinstalle Pierre
Fig. 20c. Arrivée à Constantinople des ambassadeurs apportant l'élite de l'empire sassanide	cf. p. 121 (ann. 475/475) text très différent
Fig. 20d. Pierre le Grand, élu empereur à la mort de Zénon	cf. p. 128 (ann. 480/481) simple mention de la mort de Timothée
Fig. 20e. Arrivée de Pierre le Grand en Italie de son fils (Tiberius)	cf. p. 128 (ann. 480/481) ordonnation de Jean
Fig. 20f. À la mort, Pierre revient et promet de ne pas reconnaître le régime	cf. p. 130 (ann. 483/484) représenté pour moi Théodore (et non Jean)
Fig. 20g. Exécution du roi de Perse	p. 128 (text beaucoup plus détaillé)
Fig. 20h. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	p. 131
Fig. 20i	absent
Fig. 20j	absent
Fig. 20k	absent
Fig. 20l. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 132. Félis dépose ses légats qui ont cédé aux pressions de Zénon et d'Acace
Fig. 20m. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134 (= fig. 404) même anecdote, beaucoup plus développée et de forme différente
Fig. 20n. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	p. 134. Kavadès (Καβιάδης) fait aveugler Blases-Vale (Βλασις, Βασιλίσ) et s'empare de l'Empire
Fig. 20o. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20p. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20q. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20r. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20s. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20t. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20u. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20v. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20w. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20x. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20y. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως
Fig. 20z. Arrivée de l'ambassade de l'empereur d'Orient	cf. p. 134-21-25. Texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l' <i>Epitome</i> : καὶ οὕτως καὶ Καβιάδης, ὁ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς χρησάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀντιστιανῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιστιανῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγγιστοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως

<p>fig. 555 : Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'Épistome) 555 : κείσθημε ἡ Νέεσέσαιοι : ἐν Νεουσιουργίᾳ ἀποσταλὴς τις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁσίουσιν δύο στρατιώτας ὑπάρχοντας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰθαίωνα καὶ πιστοὺς ἀπισθὲν Ἰταρον κρέζοντα φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἡ θήκη Γρηγορίου ἔστιν. αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰσχυρὸς ἔχοντες καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἔπεισαν, ὁ δὲ ὄλεος τοῖς Θεμισιαουργαῖς διασώθη</p>	<p>Ηρόφανος p. 144,6-10 : εκτερουμασθησε ιδουμα εν Νεουσιουργεια εν μεση της πολεως στρατιωται στρατιωτης ιθαίωνα της δυνα στρατιωται απιστοι επ' αυτην ιδες και ιταρον δυοτον κρεζοντα φυλαττειν την αυτην εν η ηθηκη Γρηγοριου εστιν γινωσκουσιν οα τοις σε αμοις το πλειστον μέρος της πολεις επεισθη πλην τοις ιεροισ Γρηγοριου : Θεμισιαουργου absent</p>
<p>fig. 556 : coutume de l'Église de Rome fig. 557 : Kabadès (Καβάδης) impose aux Perses la coutume d'être avec des femmes, ce qui lui fait perdre le royaume, qu'il récupère grâce aux Huns : κακάδης νόμον ἔθετο παρὰ Πέρσας ὥστε κοινῶς τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπάρχοντων καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς διωχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας,</p>	<p>p. 123,13-124,5 : même récit, développe différemment Καβάδης δὲ ἐπὶ το βασιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρόνῳ κοινῶς τῆς γυναικας ενομοθετησεν ἔργον ὅθεν οἱ Πέρσαι τούτων της αρχῆς ἀπώλυσαν καὶ δῆσαντες εἰς φυλακὴν παρέθεντο. Βασίλειος δὲ τὸν καὶ Θεόκλητον ἐδίδουεν Περσίῳ βασιλεῖ ἐποίησαν διὰ τὸ πῶς αὐτοὶ ἔβλεπον ὡς Περσίῳ [long passage absent de l'Épistome] ὁ δὲ Καβάδης σὺν τῇ Θεανικῇ στρατῷ εἰς Περσίῳ εἰσβαλὼν πόλεω σὺδενι την τε βασιλειαν ἐκράτησε καὶ βλάσφη τὸν Οὐμλὼν ἐξερύσασκε τὴν δὲ βασιλειαν ἡσυχρῶς διεσώμαζεν</p>
<p>fig. 558 : fondation de Daras (Mésopotamie) par Anastase, confiée à la garde de St Barthélémy fig. 559 fig. 560 : Kabadès fait couper les jarrets à des chrétiens de Perse : Κουάδης τινέας τῶν ἐν Περσίῳ χριστιανῶν ἡγκυλακόπησεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποκρίπτησαν</p>	<p>cf. p. 150 (récit très différent) absent p. 160,1-2 : même texte Κουάδης δὲ τινεας των εν Περσίῳ χριστιανῶν ἡγκυλακόπησεν. οἱ μετὰ τοῦτο περιεπύπτησαν</p>
<p>fig. 561 : Sévère, devenu évêque, malgré le sennent fait à Anastase, anathématise le synode</p>	<p>absent sous cette forme</p>

Il ne fait guère de doute que Théophraste dépend pour plusieurs de ces passages (arg. 528; 552; 553; 555; peut-être 557; et enfin 560) de Jean Diacrinoménos – et certes pas de Théodore, qui les ignore tous. Mais est-ce directement, ou par l'intermédiaire de l'*Epitomé*? À défaut d'avoir le texte original de Jean, l'ordre des fragments peut nous renseigner, ainsi que leur développement.

Pour ce qui est de l'ordre, Théophraste ne suit pas tout à fait celui de l'Épître.

Pour ce qui est du contenu même des fragments, on constate chez Théophane des similitudes de l'*Épitomé* :

	Théophane	<i>Épitomé</i> détail absent
mg 135	mention de la langue	
mg 142	formules légèrement différentes	
mg 151	formules légèrement différentes	
mg 153	formules légèrement différentes	
mg 155	reste développé avec beaucoup plus de détails chez Théophane	
mg 160	quasiement le même texte	

Théophane n'utilise donc pas l'*Épitomé* dans sa forme actuelle comme seule et unique source des événements que couvre l'œuvre de Jean Diacrinoménos – soit qu'il ait eu accès à un texte plus complet de l'*Épitomé*, soit qu'il ait puisé directement chez Théodore un texte de Jean plus complet, soit même qu'il ait connu directement l'œuvre de Jean. Il demeure donc envisageable que parmi les sources de Théophane figure l'ouvrage perdu de Jean.

CONCLUSION

Il est temps maintenant de conclure aussi en ce qui concerne l'utilisation de Jean¹. Théophane n'a pu avoir pu utiliser la partie de l'*Épitomé* consacrée à Jean, trop succincte, ou bien il a pu utiliser, parce que fort commode, il ne s'est pas contenté de ses condensés, mais il a pu entre les mains ou bien le texte même de Jean Diacrinoménos, ou bien une source, inconnue de nous, qui utilisait Jean – peut-être tout simplement une version plus complète de l'*Épitomé* que celle actuellement conservée.

C'est en effet pour hypothèse que d'identifier cette source secondaire à Théodore le Lecteur, ou Théodore le Prêtre, voire compilateur de Jean dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, comme il a compilé Sozomène, Isidore et Théodoret dans sa *Tripartite*. Ce serait pourtant bien possible. Mais pour quelle raison Théodore aurait-il refait, au moins en partie, une œuvre, celle de Jean, quasiment contemporaine ? La raison en serait double : d'une part, l'œuvre de Jean, si elle est si courte, peut-être trop longuement étendue ; d'autre part, l'œuvre de Jean, si elle est si courte, peut-être trop succincte. Les événements présentés par l'antichalcédonien méritent en effet Jean, le successeur présomptueux antichalcédonien de l'ouvrage de Pappus, et il faut bien reconnaître Jean Diacrinoménos et le Jean d'Égée mentionné par Pappus. Mais c'est la possibilité de la source de l'antichalcédonien de l'ouvrage de Pappus, et il faut bien reconnaître Jean Diacrinoménos et le Jean d'Égée mentionné par Pappus. Mais c'est la possibilité de la source de l'antichalcédonien de l'ouvrage de Pappus, et il faut bien reconnaître Jean Diacrinoménos et le Jean d'Égée mentionné par Pappus.

Il est donc à envisager l'hypothèse d'une utilisation de Jean par Théodore conduisant à l'élaboration d'un texte de l'œuvre de Jean Diacrinoménos, ou bien le texte même de Jean Diacrinoménos, ou bien une source, inconnue de nous, qui utilisait Jean – peut-être tout simplement une version plus complète de l'*Épitomé* que celle actuellement conservée.

¹ C. de Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Pappus, Hieronymus und Pappus in der antichalcedonischen Literatur* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Literatur 5, 2), Leipzig 1888, p. 169-171.

Quant à Théodore, il importe de souligner en dernier lieu que l'*Épitomé* ne rend compte qu'imparfaitement de son œuvre. Ainsi, il savait compléter une œuvre par une autre, il jugeait utile d'insérer des documents importants. La publication intégrale des livres I et II de son *Histoire tripartite* formerait le complément nécessaire à l'édition actuelle des fragments excellemment réalisée par G. C. Hansen. Enfin, le rôle de l'épitomateur anonyme ne doit pas être négligé. Par ses choix, par les compléments qu'il apporte, par ses jugements, il fait lui aussi acte d'historien. C'est donc une réelle chance que le présent colloque, pourtant dédié à Théophane, ait permis de réhabiliter trois des historiens qui lui ont servi de source : Théodore, son épitomateur anonyme, et une source possible de l'un et de l'autre, à savoir Jean Diacrinoménos.

APPENDIX 1 – LE CODEX BAROCCIANUS GR 142, TÉMOIN DE L'*ÉPITOMÉ*

Le codex Barocc. 142 contient successivement :

- fol. 1^v-153^v : *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Sozomène :

- fol. 1^v, l. 1-3 : πίναξ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγων τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Ἐπιτομῆς Σοζομένου τοῦ Σολαμνίου συντεθεῖς παρὰ Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου
- fol. 1^v-8^v : sommaire
- fol. 9^v, l. 1-3 : titre
- fol. 9^v, l. 4 : incipit : φασὶ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοκρατόρων κ.τ.λ. (= SC 306, p. 92)

- fol. 154^v : blanc

- fol. 154^v-202^v : *Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Évagre le Scholastique

- fol. 154^v : κεφαλαῖα τοῦ πρώτου τόμου... καὶ... Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου ὁ πίναξ

- fol. 203-204 : blanc

- fol. 205^v : raturé (reprise fautive du fol. 224^v, d'une main plus tardive)

- fol. 205^v-211^v : épitomé des *Antiquités juives* de Flavius Josèphe, « rassemblé par le même Nicéphore »

- fol. 205^v, l. 40, repris en fol. 205^v, l. 1 : εἰσὶν ὅσαι ἔδοξαν ἀναγκαῖαι εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου ἐκλεγεῖσθαι παρὰ Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου

- fol. 211^v : blanc

- fol. 212^v-261^v : l'*Épitomé d'histoires ecclésiastiques* « de la voix (ἀπὸ φωνῆς) de Nicéphore Calliste »

- fol. 212^v, l. 1-2 : συναγωγή ἱστορίων διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σαρκεὰ γενέσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἔξης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσηβίου τοῦ Πενφίλου [+ in mg. ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου]

- fol. 212^v-216^v : épitomé de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe, avec des additions publiées par de Boor²

- fol. 216^v : extraits d'un anonyme, sans titre (en fait, 6 fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Gelase de Césarée = Theod. Lect., p. 158-159)

² C. de Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Pappus, Hieronymus und Pappus in der antichalcedonischen Literatur* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der christlichen Literatur 5, 2), Leipzig 1888, p. 169-171.

- [illegible]

- fol. 261^r : recopié du 236^r
- fol. 261^v : blanc
- fol. 262^r-292^v : différentes pièces de discipline ecclésiastique, suivies de divers abrégés, d'un catalogue des évêques et patriarches de Constantinople, par Nicéphore Calliste¹⁰.

APPENDIX 2 - LE CODEX BNF *PARMIERUS GR.* 1555 À TÉMOIN DE L'ÉPIQUE

Le $\mu_{\text{eff}}^{\text{eff}}(\text{gr})$ contient successivement :

- fol. A à J (10 folios non numérotés, très mutilés) : fragmenta historica ex VT et NT
- fol. 1^o-5^o : chronologia brevis ad Adamo usque ad Tiberium II (578)
- fol. 5^o-7^o : Eustathii Épiphanensis epitome Fl. Josephi
- fol. 7^o-23^o : Epitome historiarii ecclesiasticarum
 - fol. 7^o-9^o : abrégé d'Eusèbe (CRAMER, *Ἐκλογαί* [cité n. 3], p. 87-91)
 - fol. 9^o : abrégé de Cléase (CRAMER, *Ἐκλογαί* [cité n. 3], p. 91 = fig. 1, 2 et 6)
 - fol. 9^o-20^o : abrégé de Théodore le Lecteur, *Histoire tripartite* = *Histoire ecclésiastique*, série incomplète (fig. 5 à 524)
 - fol. 20^o : abrégé de Jean Diacrinoménos (CRAMER, *Ἐκλογαί* [cité n. 3], p. 108-109 ; fig. 538-556)
- fol. 20^o-23^o : suite de l'*Épitomé* (CRAMER, *Ἐκλογαί* [cité n. 3], p. 109-114 ; POUDERON, *Le codex Parisinus* [cité n. 3], p. 171-177 ; absent de Hansen)
 - fol. 20^o-21^o : première série : de l'accession de Justinien au règne de Phocas, fig. 1-18 : 527-602/610 (CRAMER, *Ἐκλογαί* [cité n. 3], p. 109-111 ; POUDERON, *Le codex Parisinus* [cité n. 3], p. 171-175) ;
 - fol. 21^o : la famille de Constantin, fig. 19 (CRAMER, *Ἐκλογαί* [cité n. 3], p. 111-112 ; POUDERON, *Le codex Parisinus* [cité n. 3], p. 175) ; parall. Cléase, fig. 1 de NAUTIS, *La continuation* [cité n. 3] p. 174
 - fol. 21^o-23^o : seconde série : du règne de Léon I^{er} (457-467) à celui de Justinien (527-565)
- fol. 23^o : ordre des différents sièges patriarcaux
- fol. 28 jusqu'à la fin : différents écrits théologiques et liturgiques

10. K. WAND, Cf. GUNTZ, Die Quellen der Kirchengeschichte des Nixephoros und ihre Bedeutung für die Konstituierung des Textes der älteren Kirchenhistoriker, *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 42, 1949, p. 106-140, ici p. 114-117.

¹ *ib. Houghton*, ed. by M. Jankowiak & T. Mlynarczyk, *Journal of American Studies* 40 (2006), pp. 31–52.

himself and nothing to be done about it. Theophanes, on the other hand, is harsher in his judgement.⁴⁴ He omits the reflections of his predecessor and concentrates on the facts. The Magi, 'demon-worshippers' (Σαμωαὶ δαίμονοψύχοι), foretold the Persian victory. Theophanes, with the benefit of hindsight, mocks the joy of the Persians by using the only adjective 'they jumped with joy'.⁴⁵ To an educated Greek reader, the word was meaningless, a mere relic of childish manner, not suited to age nor station. It was used by Antiphanes (e.g. *Plut.* 761) to stress the improper behaviour of the elders, which Theophanes must have known. He thus ridicules what Simocatta perceived as a dramatic metaphor between man and god.⁴⁶

Kardarigan was so confident that he ordered the preparation of a large number of mat and wooden shacks for the expected Roman prisoners.⁴⁷ Simocatta also provides information on the route taken by the Persians. Kardarigan's army was to gather water from the river Bouron and to move towards the Arzamon.⁴⁸ Theophanes omits the information about the Roman camp⁴⁹ and the plan drawn up by Philippicus, who intended to lure the Persians to do battle by keeping them thirsty.⁵⁰ The territory between the rivers of Bouron and Arzamon had no other watercourses, which meant that the enemy had either quickly to engage in a pitched battle, or withdraw.⁵¹

Interestingly enough, Theophanes mentions Philippicus' order regarding the local population following the local custom, which he, however, does not name.⁵² Simocatta reports that Philippicus prohibited his troops from harming the inhabitants⁵³ who, as he explains, were Christians.⁵⁴ Theophanes gives this order a more metaphysical, almost apocalyptic, tone. Philippicus is said to have been afraid that God would forsake the Romans if they began despoiling the possessions of local farmers. He uses the word 'καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται' as if everything is allowed in war, even with regard to religious matters.⁵⁵

The next day Philippicus sent two Samacen leaders to scout the area.⁵⁶ At this point Theophanes again simplifies the narrative of Theophylact, who not only gives the names of the allied Arab leaders (Ogyros and Zogomnos),⁵⁷ but also informs us that they were commanded by a Roman named Sergius.⁵⁸ The scouting party was able to capture some Persians and by torturing them⁵⁹ gained intelligence about the location of the enemy's camp. Theophanes' summary combines the Roman reconnaissance with Philippicus' plans for the upcoming battle. He adds that the captured prisoners divulged not only the location of the camp, but also the plans of the Persian satrap, who intended to attack on the next day, the Day of the Lord, that is Sunday.⁶⁰ No such connection in Simocatta, according to whom Philippicus learned about the Persian positions on the seventh day of the week,⁶¹ that is on Saturday, and himself deduced that the enemy would attempt to lead a surprise attack against the Romans on Sunday.⁶² Until this point both accounts are consistent with each other, even if Theophanes simplified his version due to the nature of his work.

2. THE BATTLE OF SOLACHON

On the next day, the scouts informed the *strategos* that the enemy was approaching.⁶³ Theophanes omits this information and attributes the initiative to Philippicus who 'early in the morning [...] drew up the Romans in three phalanges and went to meet the enemy'.⁶⁴ Theophanes also does not devote much attention to the unusual deployment of the Roman army, organised in four bodies, rather than the traditional three (left flank, centre and right flank). Theophylact named the four commanders: 'the left wing was led by Eiliphredas,⁶⁵ with a portion of his forces under Apsich the Hun;⁶⁶ the right

44. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.10–1.

45. I. Štambir, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, 1, 1, Political and military history, Washington 1995, pp. 550–3; M. Wintrow, Rome and the Jafids: writing the history of a sixth-century tribal dynasty, in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East. 2. Some recent archaeological research*, ed. by J. H. Humphrey (JRA Supplementary series 31), Portsmouth 1999, pp. 207–24.

46. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.5.

47. Only Simocatta mentions torture; the participle ἀποβλαστάντες suggests the rack, 'stretching,' 'straining the muscles,' see also II, 2.6. The fact that Theophanes glosses over it is understandable: its inclusion would go against his vision of a 'just war,' justified also on religious grounds.

48. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.12.

49. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.6.

50. *Ibid.*, II, 2.7.

51. *Ibid.*, II, 2.7.

52. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.14.

53. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.1–3; ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλιππικός τὸ Πεσικαὶον διεκομήσας καὶ ἑταῖρος, σπουδῆς ἐπιμαχόμενος διετάξατο, καὶ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Εἰλιφρεδάου ἐπέστειλε, ὑπομαχὴ δ' αὖτος ἦν τῆς Ἑμπεργίης καὶ μὲν καὶ Ἀπσὶχ ὁ Ὀύνος τὴν αὐτὴν περιβόαντα διέκομιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ δεξιού Βαζαρίου ἡ ἀξιομαχὴς, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τὸ μέσσιον τὸν ἀνελάμβινεν κύριον, ταῦτα δ' αὖτε Ἀπρεδανὸς ὁ Ἀπρεδανὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

54. Eiliphredas was *dux Phoenicis Libanensis*, see *PLRE* III, s.v., where he is erroneously ascribed the command of the left flank together with Apsich the Hun.

55. He is believed to be of Hunnic origin, he was granted the title of *στρατηγός*, in 585. He should not be confused with an Avar dignitary of the same name, who during the reign of Justin II conducted negotiations with the Romans and was one of the commanders during the successful siege of Domium in 581. See *PLRE* III, pp. 101–2; G. Mironovskii, *Византизм*, 2, Berlin 1953, p. 83.

moving on to describe the battle itself, Simocatta proves his erudition by informing the reader that the name of the Solachon plain is derived from the name of the whole region, and mentions the two most prominent figures originating from it.⁷⁷ Theophanes omits this display of knowledge, and instead starts off with the charge of Vitalius,⁷⁸ who apparently brushed aside the Persians standing in his way and took the enemy's baggage train, *τον δόρυ*. This is a noteworthy word, copied without any comment by Theophanes, but introduced by Theophylact with the following erudite gloss, meant as more than a usual apology for a non-classical word: "which Romans in their native tongue are accustomed to call *touldon*."⁷⁹ Recent dictionaries do not list this word, but it can be found in Du Cange's *Glossarium* (col. 1589). This loanword was incorporated into the military slang and served as a basis to a bilingual neologism "touldophylax"—camp guard.

The seizure of the Persian baggage train put the outcome of the battle at risk, as Vitalius' troops ceased to fight and turned to looting. Philippicus is said to have reacted by giving his distinctive helmet to Theodore Hlibinus, one of his bodyguards, and ordering him to discipline the troops with his sword. The two accounts differ in the identification of the group that incurred the wrath of the commander: troops deployed in the centre for Theophanes, soldiers led by Vitalius for Theophylact.⁸⁰ Once order had been restored, the battle continued for many hours, according to Theophanes.⁸¹ The fierce fighting in the centre made the Romans fight on foot.⁸² When the soldiers started trampling on the bodies of the fallen,⁸³ the order was given to target the enemy's mounts. As a result, the Persians broke formation and retreated, and the victory fell to the Romans.

The closing stages of the battle are, again, presented with significant differences. Theophylact attributes the order to attack the horses to divine intervention,⁸⁴ although he assumes that the soldiers were later convinced that it had been given by the *lochagos* Stephen who, however, supposedly claimed that he had not given the order and refused to take credit for it.⁸⁵ The version of Theophanes is surprising: rather than to attribute the Roman victory to divine power, he simply states that the commander gave this order and as a result the Persians were forced to withdraw. This preference for a rational, and

77. Among other Theophrastus at Pyre (the Patrician, who was himself probably a native of Tarsus) in W. and M. Bevan, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (quoted n. 27), p. 47 n. 10.

78. It is difficult to explain why he writes the name as "Vitalian": perhaps this form in its Greek pronunciation, was just similar to *δύο* than *τρίαινα*?

79. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 256.25-3.

80. The different *τοχάγης* (army language or dialect, used in specific regions in the presence of a common *ἀρχηγός* language, i.e. Greek dialect of Asia Minor from the classical and Hellenic period) was known even amongst such contemporary authors as Theophylact.

81. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 256.25-26; Quenst. Sim., II, 3, 4-5.

82. The emphasis on the physical and the physical nature of Theophanes' work, as Theophylact mentions a battle that lasted until sunset, the fighters and notes that the clash lasted until sunset.

83. *καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν πεσόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς* (Theoph. AM 6078, p. 256.25-26; Quenst. Sim., II, 3, 4-5).

84. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 256.25-26.

85. Theophylact's attitude towards the Roman leaders by stating that other historians have distorted these events because of hatred or for flattery. This may be an allusion to John of Epiphaneia, also showing that public opinion was divided on the issue of the emperor's Persian policy, particularly when it came to the personality and actions of Philippicus. What we have are opinions from only one side of this debate. On the approach we should have recourse to reading Evagrius (see V. A. Gerasimov, *Evagrius Scholasticus: a literary analysis*, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 8, 1952, pp. 20-31).

non "supernatural," explanation is unusual for Theophanes. It seems motivated by his willingness to cast Philippicus as the central figure of the battle of Solachon: the stratega with the commander's helmet marks the turning point of the battle. This is why the description ends with a few cursory phrases: everything of importance has already been said. Another notable difference is the issue of spoils. Theophylact gives an extensive description of the spoils distributed among the soldiers after the battle, while Theophanes only states briefly that corpses were looted (AM 6078, p. 256.1-2). This may just be an attempt to shorten the narrative,⁸⁶ but it is more likely that the brief mention was intended to turn the reader's attention away from the soldiers' dishonourable deeds, which were hard to reconcile with Theophanes' providential beliefs.

CONCLUSION

The following sections of Theophylact's account were only summarized by Theophanes. He deemed it unnecessary to mention the third Roman detachment, which defeated the opposing Persians and pursued them all the way to the walls of Dara.⁸⁷ He describes the clash between the troops commanded by the *lochagos* Stephen and the Persian satrap attempting to break through the blockade as a second victorious battle that took place on the day following the first one, whereas according to Theophylact this happened 3-4 days after Solachon.⁸⁸ Interestingly, Evagrius Scholasticus also mentions the battle and the siege of Kardarigan on a hill,⁸⁹ although he claims that the Romans let him go free after he swore to persuade his ruler to open peace negotiations.⁹⁰

In conclusion, it appears that Theophanes did not add anything to Theophylact's account of the events of 586, and that the *Historiae* were the only source of the *Chronicle*. Theophanes summarised the narrative of Theophylact: he omitted most proper names and foreign words; the remainder is often corrupt. His narrative focuses on Philippicus: this is why he omits Theophylact's reference to divine intervention and claims that the crucial order was given by his hero. This is not merely a summary of events, but a serious modification of the original text of Simocatta, who first ascribed the order to Stephen and then to divine power. In order to paint Philippicus in a better light, Theophanes highlights his order to target the horses, ignoring the fighting on the other flank, where the fleeing enemy was pursued all the way to the walls of Dara, and the last crucial moment of the battle, namely Kardarigan's retreat from the hill and his clash with the Roman forces. In Theophanes' description the whole engagement is condensed in a single event. The brief description of the second engagement suggests that two separate

86. Cf. Mango - Scott, p. 379 n. 8.

87. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 256.6; Theoph. Sim., II, 4, 10.

88. Kardarigan was supposedly surrounded by the Romans for 3-4 days on a hill. When his water supplies ran out, the Persian satrap decided to break through the forces of Stephen: Theoph. Sim., II, 4, 10.

89. Evagr., 6.3.

90. Evagrius ends the description of the Roman leaders by stating that other historians have distorted these events because of hatred or for flattery. This may be an allusion to John of Epiphaneia, also showing that public opinion was divided on the issue of the emperor's Persian policy, particularly when it came to the personality and actions of Philippicus. What we have are opinions from only one side of this debate. On the approach we should have recourse to reading Evagrius (see V. A. Gerasimov, *Evagrius Scholasticus: a literary analysis*, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 8, 1952, pp. 20-31).

latter took place, which cannot be attributed to a poor understanding of the text of Theophylact,¹⁰ but rather resulted from the attempt to present Philippicus as a victorious and able commander. Theophanes, who wrote more than two centuries after the battle, was free from pressures that may have limited his predecessor: the positive but emotionally coloured presentation of Philippicus thus illustrates the idea of *virtus Romana*. In this manner, Philippicus appears as a man able to conduct the state through a difficult period in its history. The particulars of his description are, consequently, of secondary importance: Theophanes does not use any adjectives to describe him; he is rather characterized through his military actions, the success of which is only twice commented with the adverbs *ὁλοῦς* (p. 253,28) and *ὁβριόεις* (p. 254,23; copied from Theophylact, I, 13,4).¹¹ The only time when Philippicus is mentioned outside of the context of war is the information about his marriage with Gordia (p. 253,27), the significance of which has already been explained. In this regard, Symocatta is the exact opposite: his carefully chosen wording reflected the official propaganda of Emperor Heraclius. That is why he emphasised that Philippicus was the right man for the task: he had the qualities of an army commander (cf. *ἐνδοξος*, I, 13,2) or the already mentioned comparison to Scipio, I, 14), was successful in his military measures (I, 14,2), and displayed exceptional bravery during the deployment of the army. Theophanes sees Philippicus as the epitome of Roman virtues and constructs the narrative around this concept.

Finally, the procedure followed by Theophanes in abbreviating his source needs to be commented upon. His summary is aimed at emphasising Philippicus. He eliminated technical descriptions and erudite comments of Theophylact. The nature of his *Chronicle* required only brief presentations of the events; the less important episodes were accordingly passed over. Even if Theophanes also omitted the parts of the narrative that did not comply with the main aim of his narrative. Another issue is the vocabulary of Theophanes and his understanding of the Greek of Symeon. A good example is the word *tagma*, which in Theophylact refers to the army unit commanded by Stephen, but in Theophanes becomes *agema*, a formation that did not exist in the 6th century. The simplification of Theophylact's language led to several errors, which result from the lack of understanding of the technical terms or from mistakes made when copying proper names.

Modern historians using the book of Theophanes should exercise caution when transferring the names he chose alone. Theophanes has not only abridged the text of Theophylact, but also omitted passages that did not conform to his ideas and modified relevant sources to make them to focus with his viewpoints.¹⁰ Although Theophanes' compilation served as the primary historiographical source for many events, particularly for the so-called Dark Ages of Byzantium, we should always bear in mind his method of work with the sources. His *Chronicle* is more than just a compilation of information, and the author had to express some preference for his own interpretations of events, which may sometimes fit with the views of his sources.

22. Wolfgang Isermann's *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts* raised the question of whether a "national and a postnational" novel could exist that would be "given" and "born" given by Philippon's (and others') essentially critical but perhaps more acute knowledge of Germany, such as that in the *Chambre*. Isermann's response is that it is not possible to answer this question. *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Wolfgang Isermann, 2 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1987).

LA PERCEPTION DU DOMAINE ÉCONOMIQUE DANS
LA CHRONOGRAPHIE DE THÉOPHANE

par Salvatore Cosentino

La perspective de lecture de la *Chronographie* proposée ici porte sur la sphère économique. Par cette notion de sphère économique j'entends désigner l'ensemble des informations utiles pour comprendre la relation entre la société, l'environnement physique et culturel et la production de la richesse. L'importance de notre chronique pour la reconstruction de l'histoire politique des VII^e et VIII^e siècles est bien connue : on pourrait difficilement dire quelque chose de ce qui s'est passé de Byzance à cette époque sans y recourir. La conception des « siècles obscurs » développée au cours des trente dernières années et en particulier après l'irruption de l'archéologie dans l'étude de l'histoire économique et sociale, a flueté dans l'historiographie entre les deux pôles de la « continuité » et du « changement ». Les partisans de l'une ou de l'autre approche ont reconnu la période allant de la deuxième moitié du VII^e à la première moitié du IX^e siècle comme caractérisée par un déclin économique¹. Il semble justifié, par conséquent, de soumettre la *Chronographie* à une analyse spécifique dans ce sens. Après une présentation des données quantitatives qu'elle contient, nous essaierons de mettre en évidence leurs principales caractéristiques, y compris les sources utilisées pour leur traitement. On essaiera ainsi de comprendre si la collecte de ces données révèle une quelconque pensée

* Je tiens à remercier sincèrement Vivien Prigent d'avoir commenté mon texte, corrigé et amélioré mon français, et d'avoir entièrement traduit certaines parties du texte italien en français. La même reconnaissance va à Filippo Ronconi, qui a contrôlé les manuscrits (c'est-à-dire le *Par.*, gr. 4710), le *Var.* gr. 135 et l'*Oron.*, *Christ Church, Wake* 5) à ma place et m'a permis de lire son article avant sa publication.

1. Voir, à cet égard, en particulier : ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.* ; MASGO – SCOTT, p. LXXIV-XCVI ; HOWARD-JONES, *Witneses*, p. 268-312 ; P. YANNIDAKIS, *Théophane de Ségaure le Confesseur (759-818) : un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, p. 249-262.

[illegible]

studia in Humphreys, ed. by M. Jankowiak & I. Montinaro, *Travaux de numismatique* 110, Paris 2013, pp. 425–92.

économique chez le rédacteur de l'œuvre et dans quelle mesure celle-ci pourrait être utile au lecteur ou à la paternité de la chronique, j'étudierai par la suite des cas où l'information de Théophane est particulièrement précieuse pour la compréhension de quelques grands problèmes de l'histoire économique et sociale.

Les informations retenues ici contiennent des références à des valeurs mesurables ou une nomenclature économique spécifique. J'ai ainsi exclu les références génériques à la richesse, quelle qu'en ait été la forme, et j'ai enregistré seulement les passages qui fournissent au lecteur des indications positives, numériques, de caractère monétaire, démographique ou liées à des activités professionnelles données. L'ensemble s'élève à 143 citations. Elles peuvent être divisées en quatre grandes catégories : la première se réfère à la politique monétaire et à la fiscalité, avec 62 témoignages (tableau 1) ; la deuxième, à la composition des armées et à leurs pertes au combat, avec 52 références (tableau 2) ; la troisième, à la démographie, avec 17 citations (tableau 3) ; et la quatrième, enfin, concernant les biens, les objets d'artisanat et les catégories artisanales, avec 14 mentions (tableau 4). Ici, je vais me concentrer uniquement sur les deux premiers domaines, qui sont les mieux représentés. Il convient d'ailleurs de souligner trois éléments communs aux deux premiers tableaux.

Dans l'un et l'autre, sans surprise, les informations de nature économique se font plus fréquentes quand de l'Antiquité tardive nous nous dirigeons vers la période où écrit l'auteur de la *Chronographie*. Dans le tableau 1, 20 passages (32,3 %) se rapportent aux siècles IV-VI, comparativement à 67,7 % qui se réfère aux âges suivants, pour être plus précis, III au VII siècle (16,1 %), 11 au VIII^e (17,7 %) et 21 aux années 800-813 (16,8 %). Encore plus important, en ce sens, est la décomposition du tableau 2. Ici 84 % des références concernent la période entre le début du VII^e et le début du IX^e siècle. Plus précisément, 5 citations se réfèrent aux IV^e et V^e siècles (15,38 %), 10 au VII^e (19,23 %), 21 au VIII^e (39,76 %) et 3 au début du IX^e siècle (5,7 %).

Les données des deux tableaux partagent également un même rapport avec le problème des sources utilisées par l'auteur de la *Chronographie*. En ce qui concerne l'Antiquité tardive, les sources sur lesquels s'appuient les tableaux 1 et 2 sont connues : Malalas (pour le règne de Procope, Théodora Augustina ou Jean Diacrinoménos et Théophylacte Simocatta). Dans le tableau 1, à partir de 533, sur 40 références, seulement 6 se trouvent dans les sources d'origine. Pour la période de 606/607 à 779/780 il est communément admis que l'*Chronographie* que la *Chronographie* utilise davantage au moins une source antérieure, pour être en particulier la *Chronique* perdue de l'astronome maronite Théophile

d'Édesse (ca 695-ca 785)⁴. Or, pour cette période, 6 passages seulement sur 19 ont des parallèles chez les autres utilisateurs présumés de la même source. Dans plusieurs cas, notés par les traducteurs anglais, le récit de Théophane se rapproche de plus ou moins près de celui des sources orientales, dont il diffère toutefois quant aux données positives (AM 6150, 6152, 6176, 6178, 6248, 6251, 6256)⁵. En ce qui concerne le tableau 2, sur 49 passages datés entre 606/607 et 779/780, seulement 9 (c'est-à-dire environ un quart) ont des parallèles dans les sources orientales.

Normalement la *Chronographie* conserve le vocabulaire technique qu'elle trouve dans ses sources. Cela ressort clairement, par exemple, de la façon dont sont reportées les monnaies économiques de Théophylacte Simocatta à propos de l'impôt payé par Maniaca au khagan des Avars. Théophylacte dit que, après la chute de Sirmium vers 583, les Avars demandèrent à l'empereur d'accroître leur tribut de 80 000 à 160 000 monnaies, ce qui implique le terme *nomismata*, une phrase qui se répète sans changement dans la *Chronographie*⁶. On peut aussi penser à la façon dont notre chronique décrit les accords de paix signés avec les musulmans par le patriarche d'Alexandrie, Cyrus, après la bataille du Yarmuk (AM 6126). Théophane dit que Cyrus s'était engagé à verser annuellement 200 000 *dénarioi*. Comme l'a souligné dans son commentaire Cyril Mango, cette référence anachronique à la pièce d'or musulmane devait être présente dans la source orientale utilisée par Théophane, qui se reflète aussi chez Michel le Syrien et dans la *Chronique* de 1234⁷.

On note aussi chez Théophane une utilisation très particulière d'un terme spécifique de l'économie monétaire : le mot *talanton*, « talent ». Un coup d'œil au TLG clarifie que ce mot est fréquent dans la littérature mésobyzantine. Malalas l'utilise 3 fois, le *Chronicon Paschale* 8 fois, Georges le Syncelle 23, la *Souda* 69 fois, Constantin Porphyrogénète l'utilise 99 fois. Mais tandis que ces auteurs utilisent le mot en conformité avec le contexte historique – le terme se rapporte à l'âge classique, hellénistique ou romain – Théophane l'emploie pour des événements plus proches de lui, voire contemporains. On peut recenser douze occurrences. Les 5 premières renvoient à un passé relativement proche : sous l'AM 5998 (505/506), on lit que, pendant les négociations menées par le *magister militum* Celer avec les Perses, les Romains ont proposé de racheter pour trois *talanta* Basile d'Édesse, le *comes Orientis*⁸ ; sous l'AM 6021 (528/529), nous apprenons que l'exploitation des mines d'or d'Arménie rapportait un *talanton* de taxes aux Romains et aux Perses⁹ ;

4. Sur ce problème, voir les contributions de M. CONTERNO, de M. DEBIÉ et de R. HOLLAND dans ce volume, ainsi que M. CONTERNO, *La « Desertione dei tempi » all'alba dell'espansione islamica. un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriana e araba fra VII e VIII secolo* (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin – Indagare sulla storiografia greca, siriana e araba fra VII e VIII secolo (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin – Boston 2014 (qui rédoit le poids attribué à Théophile d'Édesse). Voir aussi W. BRASCH, *Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der Chronographia des Theophanes*, dans *Jenseits der Grenzen : Beiträge und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, p. 313–343.

5. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 484 ss., 503, 506, 502, 504, 602.

6. Cf. Theoph. Sim., 1, 6, 4–5 ; Theoph. AM 6075, p. 252–31–34.

7. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 479.

8. Theoph. AM 5998, p. 148, 23 et 25.

9. *Ibid.* AM 6021, p. 179, 8. Pour le VI^e siècle, voir aussi AM 6020 p. 190, 23 : l'argent de l'impôt que payait Bélisaire pesait des milliers de *talanta*.

10. *Byzantine Coins and Monuments*, ed. S. P. Oikonomides, The sources of Theophanes for the reigns of Justin II, Justinian II, and Constantine V, in *Byzantine historiography : studies in the history of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. J. H. W. G. van Dijk, Leiden 1987, p. 1–10. Pour le règne de Justin II, voir aussi S. P. Oikonomides, *Justinian II and the sources of Theophanes*, in *Justinian II and the sources of Theophanes*, ed. J. H. W. G. van Dijk, Leiden 1987, p. 1–10. Pour le règne de Justinian II, voir aussi S. P. Oikonomides, *Justinian II and the sources of Theophanes*, in *Justinian II and the sources of Theophanes*, ed. J. H. W. G. van Dijk, Leiden 1987, p. 1–10. Pour le règne de Constantine V, voir aussi S. P. Oikonomides, *Constantine V and the sources of Theophanes*, in *Constantine V and the sources of Theophanes*, ed. J. H. W. G. van Dijk, Leiden 1987, p. 1–10. Pour le règne de Justin II, voir aussi S. P. 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ἔπειτα σὺν ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσεν προσέταξε [sc. Nicéphore] στρατῶσθαι πτωχοὺς καὶ ἐξαιτάσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν, παρέχοντας καὶ ἄνα ὅντα καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἡμῶν κατασκευάζειν τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ ἀλλήληγγυῶς τὰ δημόσια.

En outre, il fit une deuxième réquisition, et ordonna que les paysans soient enrôlés et armés aux dépens des habitants de leur communauté, en payant 18 1/2 numismata pour chaque homme ou fuc et les taxes en responsabilité collective.

Or, cette même pratique de recrutement me semble faire allusion un passage du *De*
Constantin VII Porphyrogénète :

ιστέον, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς στρατιωτῆς, ὁφείλει ἔχειν περιουσίαν ἀκίνητον, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἱ λητρῶν ε', ἢ δὲ ἑλλοττων λητρῶν δ'. ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ βασιλικὸς πλοῦτος, ὡς στρατιωτῆς, ὁφείλει ἔχειν περιουσίαν ἀκίνητον, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἱ λητρῶν γ', καὶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι παρηκυλεύθησαν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτε γίνεται στρατιά, μὴ διδόνθαι τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐπὶ τῇ συνδότῃ ὡς περιουσίαις, ἀλλ' εἶναι μονοπροσώπως στρατιωτῆς, ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέσῃσι, δίδονται αὐτοῖς συνδότηι πρὸς τὸ δι' αὐτῶν ἔχειν τοιοῦτον καὶ δουλεύειν τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατίᾳ".

Il faut noter qu'un noble de la cavalerie doit disposer d'un patrimoine immobilier – c'est-à-dire de propriétés – de 5 livres [= 360 nomismata], ou au moins de 4 livres [= 288 nomismata]. Un maréchal de la flotte impériale doit avoir un patrimoine immobilier – c'est-à-dire des propriétés – de 3 livres [= 216 nomismata]. Il faut savoir que la règle que l'on observait au moment de recruter une compagnie militaire était de ne pas fournir aux combattants, s'ils étaient à l'origine naturellement des co-contributeurs pour leur entretien [lit. « des contributeurs-restants »], mais ils étaient tenus de servir de façon autonome. Mais lorsqu'ils s'appauvrissent, alors il convient de leur assigner des co-contributeurs, afin que, par l'entremise de ceux-ci, ils disposent d'une surface économique suffisante pour assurer leur service.

Le modèle (type) d'organisation auquel fait référence Constantin VII renvoie à une *basileus* *basileus* qui était encore d'actualité du temps du docte empereur. La question de savoir à quand remontait ce modèle peut être éclairée par le passage de Théophane : la pratique de répartir entre divers contribuables les dépenses d'entretien d'un soldat ne disposant pas de moyens économiques suffisants pour se financer était en vigueur déjà au début du temps de l'empereur Nicéphore I^{er}. Dans une synthèse récente, J. Haldon considère la mesure prise par Nicéphore I^{er} comme une innovation vis-à-vis des usages administratifs byzantins. Plus généralement, l'historien britannique voit dans la politique de cet empereur un changement radical dans l'histoire institutionnelle de l'Empire³¹. Les soldats avaient dû être pour la première fois, grâce à leur installation dans les *Sklaireniai* et à la participation de la communauté à l'entretien des individus les plus pauvres, un « coût social pour la communauté » et on nous dit dans lesquelles ils étaient insérés »³². Quel que soit le point de vue, il est évident qu'une innovation a également été soutenue

par P. Lemerle et M. Kaplan¹⁰. Or il me semble qu'il n'a pas été relevé jusqu'ici que le monde carolingien contemporain connaissait une pratique analogue à celle décrite par la *Chronographia*. En vertu de celle-ci, les éléments les moins aisés de la population libre recevaient durant les campagnes militaires l'assistance d'un certain nombre d'individus de même condition sociale, lesquels participaient au paiement de l'armement du combattant partant en campagne¹¹. En 806, en Frise, lorsqu'un guerrier de basse extraction sociale part à la guerre, six personnes contribuent ainsi à son financement¹². Mais, en d'autres zones de l'Empire, ce rapport est différent et dépend de la distance que l'armée était censée parcourir pour rejoindre le théâtre des hostilités (pour l'Espagne ou le pays des Avars on a cinq contributeurs pour un partant; pour la Bohême, deux¹³). En 807, les hommes libres (ceux que l'on appelle *blatrigildi*) qui possédaient 3 ou 4 manses étaient tenus à s'armer seuls; mais – comme dans le *De cerimoniis* de Constantin VII – ceux dont les terres n'atteignaient pas ce seuil recevaient l'aide d'autres hommes libres¹⁴. Nous ne connaissons pas les origines de cette coutume, mais

Nous ne connaissons pas les origines de cette procédure chez les Français, mais elle est attestée dans les sources à partir du IX^e siècle. Doit-on envisager que Nicephore en ait subi l'influence? C'est une possibilité. Il est toutefois bon de rappeler que les systèmes de recrutement tardoantiques prévoyaient la *praebitio nuntia*, dont le fonctionnement présente des affinités certaines avec la deuxième « vexation » de l'empereur Nicephore¹⁰. En vertu de la règle en vigueur dans l'Empire romain tardif, les petits propriétaires (c'est-à-dire ceux qui ne pouvaient pas se permettre de payer entièrement une part fiscale à même de financer l'entretien d'une recrue) étaient tenus à se réunir en consortia appelés *semmes* ou *capitula* dont la contribution globale atteignait la somme à même d'entretenir un soldat. Celle-ci fut fixée par l'empereur Valens en 375 à 36 *solidi*¹¹.

Il ne s'agit pas ici d'affirmer une continuité directe entre l'institution byzantine et le procédé mis au point par Nicéphore, mais de souligner que la culture administrative byzantine avait hérité des instruments nécessaires pour concevoir un système rattachant directement la charge de l'entretien du soldat aux capacités économiques des individus. Le témoignage de la *Chronographie*, la coutume de répartir les coûts de recrutement appliquée dans l'Empire carolingien au début du IX^e siècle et la *practibis chronon* offrent des points de départ pour rouvrir une discussion sur le rapport entre terre et service militaire à Byzance avant même l'époque de Nicéphore I^{er}. L'attitude qui prévalut depuis le IX^e siècle fut certainement de concevoir l'obligation militaire comme une forme de taxation. Aussi, comme on l'a écrit, « it must surely predate that time, though we do not know by how much »¹⁰¹.

53. Voir ci-dessus, note 48.

54. Voir F. L. GANSHOE, *L'armée sous les Carolingiens, dans Organisation militaire en Occident, coll. *Acta medievorum* (Sehrmann CISM 14), Spoleto 1968, vol. 1, p. 108-130.*

55. *Capitularia regum Francorum*, 1. ed. A. Boreius (MGH LL 2, 1), Hannoverae 1883, p. 135, n. 49, § 6.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, § 2 et 3.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 139, n° 48, § 2.

⁵⁸ Sur la *praebutio iuramentum* voir A. H. M. Jones, *The later Roman Empire*, 281-402, a social, economic and administrative survey, Oxford 1964, vol. 2, p. 615 s.

59. CFB VII, 13, 7.

(4). Anna OIKONOMIDES, *The role of the Byzantine state* (Ierusal., 1983, 1 vol. mal. in-8), quelques réflexions sur le service militaire dans la législation carolingienne par rapport à Byzance dans

Les données quantitatives que fournit la *Chronographie* mettent en évidence deux grandes tendances. D'une part, elles montrent une sensibilité à la force numérique des ordres, à la spécification des grandes sommes d'argent, à toutes sortes de mesures fiscales, à l'animation de la dynamique des populations sur le territoire de l'Empire. Cette sensibilité se fait d'autant plus prononcée que, de l'Antiquité tardive, le lecteur descend vers l'époque à laquelle vécut l'auteur de l'œuvre. D'autre part, le travail est basé, en ce qui concerne la sphère de l'économie, sur la consultation de sources dont le nombre, pour les VII^e et VIII^e siècles, semble être assez important et l'horizon de l'auteur dépasse celui qui est la contribution de la seule *Chronique* de Théophile d'Édesse.

La mentalité économique de la *Chronographie* est traditionnelle et aristocratique. Elle révèle une idéologie dans laquelle le bon usage des richesses de la part du pouvoir public est le aux valeurs de la munificence et de la générosité en tant que caractéristiques essentielles de la *basileus* et, dans une moindre mesure, signe d'affirmation de la suprématie morale des *aristoi*, par le biais de l'émulation du comportement impérial. Les empereurs ne doivent pas administrer les finances de façon aveuglément impartiale et égalitaire, mais doivent examiner le maintien des équilibres sociaux, ceux-ci l'emportant sur le développement économique. Les puissants doivent prudemment, les faibles reçoivent en conformité avec la justice hiérarchique que Dieu leur a assignée sur la terre. La planification économique ou la redistribution des ressources ne doivent pas niveler les hiérarchies cautionnées par la justice. L'ordre social de l'univers qui se reflète dans l'articulation de la structure sociale au sein de laquelle chaque individu est appelé à agir en fonction de la position qu'il occupe.

Ces règles et les fonctions monastiques s'affirment en tant qu'organismes sociaux. Les moines, dans les représentations sont prêts à monter au créneau dès que le gouvernement impérial, comme sous Léon III et sous Nicéphore I^{er}, oblige tout un chacun à contribuer financièrement à l'entretien de l'appareil public sur une même base. Notre auteur est bien informé, comme nous l'avons vu au sujet de la diminution de *kommerkion* accordé par Constantin V La force de René-Jean l'Évangéliste à Éphèse. Il analyse la politique de Théophile I^{er} dans le chapitre dernier bien informé des dix « vexations », sous l'AM 6302) et il est capable de rapporter avec précision le montant des dons faits par Michel I^{er} au monastère de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople au moment de sa proclamation impériale⁶¹. Il sait que les monastères dépendent par son fils Théophylacte, toujours au bénéfice du clergé de la capitale, comme il le fait au rang de co-empereur⁶². Il sait également que Michel I^{er} a une épouse, Théophano, une ex-pellicane au monastère de Taraise, ornant la tombe du père patriarche par une monnaie qui pèse plus de 310 kilos d'argent⁶³.

L'auteur de la *Chronographie* semble être en contact avec les milieux monastiques, mais il est aussi en contact avec le régime et avec le haut niveau de propagande en province. Ces

caractéristiques peuvent se rapporter tant à Georges le Syncelle qu'à son ami Théophane. Vus dans une perspective économique, l'œuvre ne fournit donc pas d'éléments susceptibles de trancher le débat sur l'identité de son auteur⁶⁴. Pour ma part, je ne vois aucune raison impérieuse pour refuser le contenu historique de la préface et imaginer que les choses se soient passées différemment de la façon dont elles y sont exposées. Certes, dans le manuscrit utilisé par Anastase (qui, comme nous l'avons vu, est le plus proche de l'archétype), la préface est absente, mais la différence entre le travail de Georges et celui de Théophane est marquée par une note sans équivoque : *abbin Hinnacius qui et Theophanes*⁶⁵. Or dans son analyse du *Paris. gr. 1710*, F. Ronconi a avancé avec de très bons arguments l'hypothèse que la présence de la préface dans ce manuscrit résulte d'un remaniement de la partie initiale du manuscrit. À l'origine, le codex aurait juxtaposé, sans aucune forme de solution de continuité, les sections de la chronique antérieures et postérieures à Dioclétien. La préface aurait été ajoutée par l'insertion d'un cahier⁶⁶. Si cette hypothèse est correcte, elle ne semble renforcer et non réfuter le contenu historique de la préface.

Il est enfin logique de penser que, parmi les moines de Megas Agros (et peut-être aussi dans d'autres milieux monastiques de la Bithynie ou de la capitale), on devait avoir que Théophane avait retravaillé et amélioré le texte qui lui avait été laissé par Georges le Syncelle. Mais puisque ce même Théophane était mort avant d'avoir pu préparer une rédaction finale de l'œuvre, quelqu'un éprouva, pendant la première phase de la transmission de ce long récit historique courant d'Adam à Michel I^{er}, le besoin de clarifier ce qui s'était passé : d'où la naissance de la préface. Si tel était bien le cas, je ne pense pas qu'il y ait eu une tentative délibérée de manipulation, mais, bien au contraire, une tentative pour transmettre la mémoire de la genèse du texte à travers son contenu le plus authentique. Les caractéristiques du modèle d'Anastase, les similitudes entre ce manuscrit perdu et le *Parisinus* (interpolations, absence de tableaux généalogiques et chronologiques), la possible insertion tardive en ce dernier de la préface, tout ce complexe d'indices suggère de placer ces deux témoins de la *Chronographie* dans un milieu culturel très proche de celui dans lequel Théophane avait travaillé; et il est peut-être

61. Voir l'article célèbre de MANGO, *Who wrote the Chronicle*, selon qui la *Chronographie* fut écrite presque entièrement par Georges le Syncelle, Théophane agissant en simple copiste et éditeur. Contra H. C. Чичуров, Феодан Непоседник-публикатор, редактор, англ., 137-42, 1981, p. 78-87, suivi par Я. Н. Любарский, Феодан Непоседник и исторический его «Хронограф», 19-45, p. 78-87, suivi par Я. Н. Любарский, Феодан Непоседник и исторический его «Хронограф», 19-45, p. 72-87, part. p. 86; I. ШВЕДЬКО, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 1084, p. 279-293, ici p. 287, soulignant les différences stylistiques entre Georges et Théophane; ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, p. 40; R. MANSANO, Il « sistema compositivo » della Cronaca di Teofane, dans *Εβδόμηρος : studi in onore di Roderigo Anagnostou*, Catania 1994, vol. 2, p. 275-287; Y. N. LYUBARSKII, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, dans *Acta et Monumenta Byzantina*, 1999, p. 317-322; A. KAZHDAN, The monastic world chronicle: Theophanes the Confessor, dans *Acta et Monumenta Byzantina*, 1999, p. 205-234, ici p. 217 s., demeura aussi sceptique. Voir aussi YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronographie* de Théophane, p. 274. Une position particulière a été prise par L. E. SHERRY, The « zweite » Theophanes : eine These zur *Chronographie* des Theophanes, dans *Acta et Monumenta Byzantina* 13, Bonn 1994, p. 433-483, qui croit que l'auteur de la *Chronographie* ne fut le Théophane mort en 818, mais un homonyme actif dans les années 80 du IX^e siècle. Cf. DEMOCHROU, *Theophanes de Syngari* (cit. n. 1), p. 237-246.

62. Anast., p. 77.

63. Von ROSECKE, La première circulation (cit. n. 30).

64. Contra MANGO, *Who wrote the Chronicle*, selon qui la *Chronographie* fut écrite presque entièrement par Georges le Syncelle, Théophane agissant en simple copiste et éditeur. Contra H. C. Чичуров, Феодан Непоседник-публикатор, редактор, англ., 137-42, 1981, p. 78-87, suivi par Я. Н. Любарский, Феодан Непоседник и исторический его «Хронограф», 19-45, p. 78-87, suivi par Я. Н. Любарский, Феодан Непоседник и исторический его «Хронограф», 19-45, p. 72-87, part. p. 86; I. ШВЕДЬКО, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 1084, p. 279-293, ici p. 287, soulignant les différences stylistiques entre Georges et Théophane; ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, p. 40; R. MANSANO, Il « sistema compositivo » della Cronaca di Teofane, dans *Εβδόμηρος : studi in onore di Roderigo Anagnostou*, Catania 1994, vol. 2, p. 275-287; Y. N. LYUBARSKII, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, dans *Acta et Monumenta Byzantina*, 1999, p. 317-322; A. KAZHDAN, The monastic world chronicle: Theophanes the Confessor, dans *Acta et Monumenta Byzantina*, 1999, p. 205-234, ici p. 217 s., demeura aussi sceptique. Voir aussi YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronographie* de Théophane, p. 274. Une position particulière a été prise par L. E. SHERRY, The « zweite » Theophanes : eine These zur *Chronographie* des Theophanes, dans *Acta et Monumenta Byzantina* 13, Bonn 1994, p. 433-483, qui croit que l'auteur de la *Chronographie* ne fut le Théophane mort en 818, mais un homonyme actif dans les années 80 du IX^e siècle. Cf. DEMOCHROU, *Theophanes de Syngari* (cit. n. 1), p. 237-246.

65. Anast., p. 77.

66. Von ROSECKE, La première circulation (cit. n. 30).

plus convaincant d'identifier ce milieu avec le monastère de Megas Agios lui-même, ou d'autres monastères de la Bithynie, plutôt qu'avec le *scriptorium* de Saint-Jean de Souda.

Tableau 1 - Les finances publiques.

N° de citation	AN	Ère chrétienne	Résumé
1	5942	447/450	Théodose II envoie une ambassade à Attila lui promettant 6 000 livres (432 000 <i>nomismata</i>) s'il se retire des territoires occupés (Ravenna, Naissus, Plovdiv, Arcadiopolis, Constantia). Il lui offre également un tribut annuel de 1 000 livres (72 000 <i>nomismata</i>) pour qu'Attila reste en paix avec l'Empire.
2	5943	450/451	Recevoir prémonitoire des frères Julius et Tatianus sur le destin impérial de Marcien. Ce dernier leur promet qu'il les fera sénateurs, si le sort le réalise. Puis les deux frères lui donnent 200 <i>nomismata</i> et l'accompagnent à Constantinople.
3	5961	468/469	Justin I envoie une flotte puissante (100 000 bateaux) pour conquérir l'Afrique vandale. On dit qu'il aurait dépensé 20 000 livres d'or (= 7 200 000 <i>nomismata</i>) dans cette expédition.
4	5968	469/470	Pendant les négociations de paix entre Celer et les Perses, 3 <i>talanta</i> sont offerts pour la libération de Basile d'Édesse, détenu en otage.
5	5982	482/483	200 moines monophysites vont à Constantinople avec Sévère d'Antioche. Jean, évêque d'Alexandrie, offre 2 000 livres (144 000 <i>nomismata</i>) à Anastase s'il répudie les décisions du concile de Chalcédoine.
6	5985	485/486	Le certain Anastase promet à l'empereur Anastase de convaincre Jean, évêque de Jérusalem, d'entrer en communion avec Sévère d'Antioche; en cas d'échec, il s'engage à donner à l'empereur 100 livres d'or (= 21 600 <i>nomismata</i>).
7	5987	486/487	Nestor, <i>magister militum</i> , vend pour insulter l'empereur Anastase deux esclaves son premier pour le prix d'1 <i>folles</i> .
8	5993	492/493	Le pape Paul, <i>cardinalis</i> , remplace Sévère en tant que patriarche d'Antioche. L'empereur Justin fait un don de 1 000 livres (72 000 <i>nomismata</i>) à la ville.
9	5997	496/497	Anastase, son épouse et son jeune grand comme un géant, qui donne aux habitants d'or à distribuer, à chaque ville qu'elle visite, 20 livres d'or.
10	6002	499/500	Les moines de Saint-Étienne vont à la médiation du patriarche d'Antioche. L'empereur Justin leur offre 2 <i>talanta</i> (= 14 400 <i>nomismata</i>) par an.
11	6004	501/502	Justin II envoie une ambassade à Attila le 1er : l'empereur envoie à Attila 100 livres d'or (36 000 <i>nomismata</i>) pour qu'il reste en paix avec l'Empire.

Les citations des *nomismata* dans le *Chronique* de Théophraste ont été supprimées par les éditeurs de la *Chronique* de Théophraste (citée n. 1) à la fin de la page 100.

N° de citation	AN	Ère chrétienne	Résumé
12	6021	528/529	Khusrav aspire à conquérir Jérusalem, une ville pleine d'incompréhensibles <i>heptamaria</i> d'or et de pierres précieuses.
13	6021	528/529	L'exploitation des mines d'or de l'Arménie donnant un <i>talanta</i> de taxes aux Romains et aux Perses.
14	6031	538/539	Constantin, peut-être <i>magister militum</i> , a été capturé sur le champ de bataille par les Bulgares; sa rançon est payée d'une somme de 1 000 <i>nomismata</i> .
15	6057	564/565	Décès du patriarche Belisaire, ses propriétés sont acquises par la domo de Marina.
16	6060	567/568	L'auguste Sophia ordonne aux banquiers (<i>argyroprolatores</i>) et aux changeurs d'argent (<i>trémaderioi</i>) de restituer aux débiteurs de Constantinople tous leurs titres de créance.
17	6064	571/572	L'empereur romain versait habituellement 500 livres d'or (= 36 000 <i>nomismata</i>) au roi de Perse, afin que les soldats de ce dernier établissent des garnisons dans les fortifications du Caucase pour contrer les incursions des populations ennemies; Justin II refuse de payer le tribut, provoquant une guerre entre les deux empires.
18	6075	582/583	Après la prise de Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), les Avars demandent à l'empereur Maurice de porter de 80 000 à 100 000 <i>nomismata</i> le tribut, ce que l'empereur accepte. En conséquence, leur khagan demande 1 éléphant et 1 lin d'or, ainsi qu'une nouvelle augmentation du tribut de 20 000 <i>nomismata</i> . Maurice rejette cette demande provoquant l'attaque des Avars et la destruction de Singidunum (Belgrade).
19	6080	587/588	Le général perse Baram défait les Turcs en Sotania (région méridionale du Caucase) et exige d'eux un tribut de 40 000 pièces d'or.
20	6092	599/600	Le khagan des Avars marche contre Constantinople, quand une épidémie de peste décime son armée; Maurice lui demande de libérer ses prisonniers, mais le khagan demande en échange 1 <i>nomisma</i> par tête, puis 1/2 <i>nomisma</i> et, enfin, 4 <i>brantia</i> ; l'empereur rejette ces conditions et, en représailles, le khagan fait tuer tous les prisonniers byzantins et exige une augmentation du tribut de 50 000 pièces d'or.
21	6098	605/606	Le patriarche Germanos offre un <i>talanta</i> au chef du parti des Verts afin qu'il puisse compter sur leur aide.
22	6126	633/634	Après la défaite du Yermuk, Cyrus, patriarche d'Alexandrie, conclut des accords avec les musulmans, leur promettant de payer 200 000 deniers (= dinars).
23	6128	635/636	Trêve conclue entre Iad et Jean, gouverneur (<i>epitropos</i>) de l'Orient, aux termes de laquelle chaque année seront payés 100 000 <i>nomismata</i> pour que les Musulmans ne passent pas l'Euphrate.
24	6131	638/639	Quintarios ordonne d'entreprendre un recensement prenant en compte les personnes, les animaux et les cultures dans tous les territoires sous son pouvoir.
25	6150	657/658	La paix est conclue entre les Romains et les Arabes après que Maurice a envoyé une ambassade assurant que les Arabes paieront un tribut de 1 000 <i>nomismata</i> par jour, 1 esclave et 1 cheval.

N° de chron.	AN	Ère chrétienne	Résumé
26	6253	150/160	Suite à l'apparition de l'hérésie des « Charomigites », Manias les poursuit, humiliant les hommes de Perse et exaltant ceux de Syrie. Les salaires des Isamites (Syriens) passent à 200 <i>nomismata</i> , ceux des anciens Herakites (les Irakiens) sont ramenés à 30 <i>nomismata</i> .
27	6259	150/157	Jean Prizgades conclut une paix avec Manias sur la base d'un paiement par les Arabes de 3000 livres d'or (216 000 <i>nomismata</i>) par an, 50 orages et 50 beaux chevaux.
28	6274	151/168	Abimelek (Abd al-Malik) monte sur le trône dans une situation difficile; il envoie des ambassadeurs à Byzance, demandant que la trêve signée au temps de Manias soit renouvelée. L'empereur y consent contre paiement de 365 000 <i>nomismata</i> annuel, 365 esclaves et 365 chevaux.
29	6278	151/168	Abimelek envoie des emissaires à Justinien II pour ratifier la trêve. Elle comprend les clauses suivantes : 1) le transfert de 12 000 Mardaites du Liban vers les terres des Romains, 2) un versement de 1000 <i>nomismata</i> par jour, 1 cheval et 1 esclave, 3) la division en parts égales des revenus de l'Arménie et l'Ibérie.
30	6285	151/168	Rupture de la trêve entre Abimelek et Justinien II. Le <i>kanilik</i> , en effet, déplace la population de Chypre et refuse d'accepter les pièces d'Abimelek, car il s'agit d'un nouveau type, jamais frappé auparavant. Le calife répond qu'il ne pouvait pas accepter la monnaie sans légende et figuration romaine : puisque l'or était payé au poids, les Romains affirment il n'auraient subi aucun tort de la monnaie sans être frappée.
31	6290	151/168	Constantin interdit que les registres administratifs publics soient tenus en grec.
32	6290	151/168	Les Arabes rendent et acceptent de recevoir 6000 <i>nomismata</i> , ainsi que de faire le <i>spahane</i> l'éon qu'ils détenaient prisonnier.
33	6301	151/168	Artemios revient à Thessalonique. L'incitant à se rendre auprès de Léon dans le but de monter une attaque contre Léon III vers l'aide des Bulgares; Artemios accepte, obtenant une somme, ainsi que 30 <i>nomismata</i> d'or (360 000 <i>nomismata</i>), mais Constantinople ne l'accepte pas pour empereur.
34	6302	151/168	Léon III impose une taxe de capitation sur 1/3 des habitants de Sicile; ainsi l'impôt appelé en honneur des Apôtres – dont le revenu était de 100 000 <i>nomismata</i> – et qui depuis les temps anciens étaient versés au trésor d'Antioche, qu'il est versé au trésor public.
35	6302	151/168	Léon III ordonne l'abolition de l'impôt de terre. Léon ordonne qu'un impôt annuel soit levé pour la réparation des murs; 1 <i>miliaire</i> ou de 1000 <i>nomismata</i> par an.
36	6302	151/168	Léon III ordonne l'abolition de l'impôt des <i>domania</i> ; il taxe même les monastères.
37	6302	151/168	Léon III ordonne la division des charges gouvernementales entre les <i>domania</i> et les <i>domania</i> de tout autre diverses fonctions, car ils ne pouvaient pas être payés.

N° de chron.	AN	Ère chrétienne	Résumé
38	6256	763/764	Abdelas écarte Isâ b. Mûsâ de la succession par un <i>statutum</i> , mais lui donne 100 <i>talanta</i> d'or de compensation.
39	6260	767/768	Pour le couronnement de sa troisième femme, Eudocie, et la proclamation au césar de son fils qu'il a eu d'elle, Constantin se rend en procession vers Sainte Sophie et distribue des dons sous forme de <i>tremisses</i> , <i>semisses</i> et <i>nomismata</i> tout juste frappés.
40	6274	781/782	Une trêve ayant été établie entre Irène et Aaron, il est prévu de voter le moment venu aux Arabes un tribut selon al-Tabari, éd. St. Lequn, II, 213, il se serait élevé à 70 000 <i>nomismata</i> ou 90 000 dinars par an.
41	6287	794/795	Constantin VI mène une expédition militaire contre les musulmans dans une localité appelée Anouan. Il se rend ensuite à Éphèse et, après avoir prié sur la tombe de l'Évangéliste, il fait remonter du <i>kommerkion</i> de la foire de Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, lequel était de 100 l (ce qui signifie que le montant réel des transactions de la foire était de 1 000 l, ou 72 000 <i>nomismata</i>).
42	6293	800/801	En mars de la IX ^e indiction, Irène ordonne la remise des impôts dus par les habitants de Byzance et diminue le <i>kommerkion</i> levé à Abydos et à Hiéron.
43	6298	805/806	Nicéphore conclut une paix avec Aaron, après de longues négociations : doivent être versés 30 000 <i>nomismata</i> chaque année ainsi qu'une taxe de 3 <i>nomismata</i> pour l'empereur et de 3 <i>nomismata</i> pour son fils (al-Tabari parle de 50 000 dinars à 4 dinars pour l'empereur et 2 pour son fils).
44	6301	808/809	Alors que l'armée du Strymon recevait sa paye, les Bulgares les attaquent et s'emparent de 1 100 l (= 72 000 <i>nomismata</i>).
45	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que même les pauvres soient entolés dans l'armée et armés par leurs voisins, ceux-ci devant 18 1/2 <i>nomismata</i> au fisc.
46	6302	809/810	Nicéphore envoie les inspecteurs du fisc mettre à jour le cadastre, afin de percevoir les impôts de tous; un paiement de 2 <i>denaria</i> par tête est institué pour payer les frais d'enregistrement.
47	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne l'abolition de tout allègement fiscal.
48	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que les <i>paterboi</i> des institutions caritatives, des <i>orphanotheia</i> , des <i>xenones</i> et des <i>prokoma</i> des églises et des monastères impériaux payent le <i>kaphia</i> à partir de la première année de son règne; les grands domaines devaient être confiés à la gestion des <i>konnatoroi</i> impériaux, mais leurs <i>paterboi</i> doivent payer leurs taxes.
49	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne aux stratèges de surveiller ceux qui sont souffrants de la pauvreté, comme s'ils avaient trouvé un trésor.
50	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que quiconque ait trouvé, dans les vingt dernières années, une jarre ou de la vaisselle précieuse soit privé de leur valeur (ou des monnaies qui y étaient contenues).
51	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que tous ceux qui dans les vingt dernières années se sont divisés l'héritage d'aïeux ou de leurs parents soient soumis à taxation; il ordonne également que tous ceux qui, hors d'Abydos, ont acheté des <i>domania</i> <i>eksklita</i> (exclues de tout impôt), spécialement dans le Dodécanèse, payent une taxe de 2 <i>nomismata</i> par an.

N° de citation	AN	Ere chrétienne	Résumé
1	6002	527/528	Nicéphore oblige les <i>marableni</i> qui vivent le long des côtes, spécialement en Asie Mineure, à acheter certains des domaines conquis par lui, afin qu'ils soient « évalués » (<i>pro an estimatione</i>) par lui.
2	6003	528/529	Nicéphore convoque les <i>marableni</i> les plus éminents de Constantinople et donne à chacun un prêt de 12 l d'or au taux d'intérêt de 4 <i>denarii</i> par an en sus de la taxe de douane habituelle à laquelle ils étaient tenus.
3	6005	530/531	En mars de février de la IV ^e indiction, les Sarrasins surprennent à Ecbatane le stratège des Arméniques, Léon, avec la paye du thème, des bijoux au montant de 13 talents, soit 1 300 l.
4	6006	531/532	Après le départ de la cité impériale en campagne contre les Bulgares, Nicéphore ordonne d'accroître les taxes des églises et des monastères - de lever 8 ans d'arriérés d'impôt sur les <i>oikoi</i> des dignitaires.
5	6007	532/533	Nicéphore envoie en Bulgarie le serviteur favori de Nicéphore, Byzantios, accompagné de Kroummos avec le vestiaire impérial et 100 l d'or.
6	6008	533/534	Nicéphore, blessé après la bataille contre Kroummos, dit au patriarche Nicéphore - qui l'incitait à se concilier Dieu, en restituant ce que son père avait pris - qu'il lui serait impossible de donner plus de l'argent, qui n'était qu'une petite partie de ce que Nicéphore avait pris.
7	6009	534/535	En 6009, Michel I ^{er} donne 50 l au patriarche et 25 l au clergé.
8	6010	535/536	Michel I ^{er} donne 5 talents d'or aux veuves des soldats tués en Bulgarie.
9	6011	536/537	En 6011, au moment de son fils Theophylacte, Michel donne à ses soldats de la robe de chambre d'or et 4 tentures d'or et de pourpre de l'empire, ainsi que 25 l au patriarche et 100 l au clergé.
10	6012	537/538	En 6012, des chrétiens de Palestine et de Syrie vers Chypre pour la première fois, se rendent à Constantinople et font un important monastère; à ceux qui y vont - Chypre - ils donnent 1 talent.
11	6013	538/539	Nicéphore I ^{er} ordonne que ceux qui se rendent en pèlerinage au monastère de Saint Georges à Jérusalem, ils couvrent sa tombe d'or et d'argent pour 95 l.

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N° de citation	AN	Ere chrétienne	Résumé
12	6014	539/540	Nicéphore I ^{er} ordonne la construction de Constantinople. Les murs de la ville sont entourés de 15 000 hommes.
13	6015	540/541	Nicéphore I ^{er} ordonne la construction de Constantinople. Les murs de la ville sont entourés de 15 000 hommes.
14	6016	541/542	Nicéphore I ^{er} ordonne la construction de Constantinople. Les murs de la ville sont entourés de 15 000 hommes.

N° de citation	AN	Ere chrétienne	Résumé
1	6020	547/548	Une femme appelée Burex (Borex) mène une force de 10 000 Huns Sabirs, gouvernant leur territoire après la mort de son mari Balad. Elle défait Syrax et Gélone qui commandent 20 000 hommes, s'étaient alliés avec Kavad.
2	6024	551/552	Durant la sédition Nika, Mundas dispose d'une force de 3 000 hommes pour protéger le Palais. 35 000 sont déplacés dans la répression de la révolte.
3	6026	553/554	• Belisaire mène une expédition contre les Vandales, 540 navires, 30 000 marins, 90 dromes. • Solomon tue successivement 10 000 et 5 000 Huns.
4	6074	581/582	Tibère II forme une nouvelle unité militaire de 5 000 hommes, à laquelle il donne son nom.
5	6079	586/587	Komentiolos divise l'armée à Antioche. Les troupes affectées à la protection de la cité, des troupes d'élite, sont divisées entre Castus (2 000), Martinus (2 000) et Komentiolos lui-même (2 000).
6	6093	600/601	Priscus engage le combat contre les Avars aux environs de Viminacium; 300 Romains sont tués contre 4 000 barbares. Le second jour, meurent 8 000 barbares. Successivement, d'autres batailles sont livrées contre le khagan, au cours desquelles Priscus, avec 4 000 hommes, parvient à vaincre 30 000 Gepides et 5 000 autres barbares.
7	6117	624/625	Nouvelle levée orchestrée par Khusrav et placée sous les ordres de Sain; s'y ajoutent 50 000 hommes d'élite du contingent de Sarmates.
8	6117	624/625	Les Khazars s'allient à Heraclius: leur commandant Zebel mène un contingent de 40 000 hommes.
9	6118	625/626	Khusrav envoie 3 000 hommes en renfort à l'armée de Ruzbihan.
10	6118	625/626	Les Perses dans leur ultime résistance désespérée envoient 200 éléphants.
11	6125	632/633	Heraclius abandonne la Syrie et envoie Baazil et Theodoros de Damas à Émèse à la tête de 40 000 hommes.
12	6126	633/634	40 000 morts dans l'armée impériale lors de la bataille du Yarmouk.
13	6140	647/648	Mauras envahit Chypre avec 1 700 navires et de toute l'île.
14	6159	666/667	Phadalar et Iad conquièrent Amman, lançant une garnison de 5 000 hommes; la cité est reconquise par le cubicularius André qui tue tous les Arabes.
15	6165	672/673	Souphian (Sufian b. Ar) engage la bataille contre une armée romaine commandée par Théodore, Pétrus et Cyrillus. 30 000 musulmans sont tués.
16	6196	703/704	Azidos Yazid b. Humair mène une expédition contre la Cilicie, assiégeant la forteresse de Samu. Le frère de l'empereur Heraclius, Sabas, sur lui et une 12 000 Arabes sur le mont de Samu.
17	6203	710/711	La flotte envoyée pour les habitants de l'Égypte est détruite avec 73 000 morts.



Végues

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301	7146	7147	

			Regeste
Mois	Année	Evénement	
30	1296	604,800	Amir mène une grande expédition contre le territoire romain, composée de Moudroghanni, de Syriens, de Palestiniens, de Libyens, pour un total de 300,000 hommes; il conquiert l'Yane, puis envoie ses troupes de 100,000 hommes jusqu'à Ancyre.
15	1301	605,800	Kilichians conquiert Sardique et tue 6,000 soldats romains.
10	1304	611,000	Tchouk (Thab) b. Nasr) mène une incursion contre les chrétiens, d'Afrique, Leon stratège des Anatoliques, et le vainc, tuant 2,000 hommes.

Tableau 3. La population.

Année	Evénement	Registre
180	Les Perses envahissent la Syrie et la Palestine, provoquant la mort de 18000 chrétiens.	18000
187	Les Perses envahissent l'Asie Mineure et tuent 4870 personnes.	4870
190	Les Perses envahissent la Grèce et tuent 4000 personnes.	4000
191	Les Perses envahissent la Palestine, la Jordanie et Jérusalem, tuant 30000 personnes.	30000
192	Les Perses envahissent l'Égypte et tuent 300 personnes.	300
193	Les Perses envahissent la Syrie et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
194	Les Perses envahissent la Palestine et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
195	Les Perses envahissent la Grèce et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
196	Les Perses envahissent la Palestine et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
197	Les Perses envahissent la Grèce et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
198	Les Perses envahissent la Palestine et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
199	Les Perses envahissent la Grèce et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000
200	Les Perses envahissent la Palestine et tuent 1000 personnes.	1000

N° de notation	AN	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
15	6247	754/755	Constantin V transfère en Thrace les Syriens et les Arméniens qu'il avait faits prisonniers à Théodosiopolis (Erzurum) et Méléne; il diffuse ainsi dans l'Empire l'hérésie des Pauliciens.
16	6302	809/810	Nicéphore 1 ^{er} ordonne à tous les chrétiens de s'installer dans les <i>Sébasias</i> , après avoir vendu leurs propriétés (<i>hypothèques</i>).
17	6305	812/813	Émigration des chrétiens de Palestine et de Syrie à Chypre, pour fuir les Arabes: certains d'entre eux atteignent Constantinople.

Tableau 4 - Les substances et l'artisanat.

N° de citation	Ann	Ère chrétienne	Résumé
1	5824	331/332	Grande famine dans tout l'Orient: 1 <i>modius</i> de grain en vient à coûter 4000 pièces d'argent; l'Église d'Antioche reçoit 360000 <i>modii</i> de grain de Constantin.
2	5849	356/357	Constance II, en colère pour l'assassinat du mag. mil. Hermogène par les habitants de Constantinople, diminue les rations de pains distribuées à la cité, les réduisant de 80000 (concedées par Constantin) à 40000.
3	5855	362/363	Julien ordonne que soit reconstruite une synagogue, confiant cette tâche à un païen du nom d'Alypius; durant les travaux, toutefois, un violent ouragan détruit 200000 <i>modii</i> de mortier déjà préparé.
4	6038	545/546	Une pénurie de vin et de grain, accompagnée d'un grand séisme, frappe Constantinople: il y eut une erreur dans le calcul de Pâques, en raison duquel les gens s'abstinrent de manger de la viande dès le 4 février, mais l'empereur ordonna aux bouchers de continuer à en vendre durant encore une semaine. Les bouchers, en conséquence, tuèrent des animaux et en mirent en vente la chair que personne n'acheta.
5	6113	620/621	L'empereur Héraclius, le 4 avril de la X ^e indiction, se mit en marche à travers la Perse. Pauvre en ressources, il prit en prêt les fonds des églises, ainsi que les <i>randelabari</i> et la vaisselle liturgique de Ste-Sophie: de cette façon, il frappa une grande quantité de monnaies d'or et d'argent.
6	6118	625/626	Les Romains vainquirent les troupes de Razates et celui-ci fut tué durant la bataille; sur le champ de bataille, on trouva de nombreuses épées d'or et des ceintures ornées de perles. On récupéra aussi le bouclier de Razates, qui était entièrement en or et comptait 120 <i>luninae</i> , de même que sa cuirasse, elle aussi d'or.
7	6118	625/626	Le palais de Dastagerd livre un grand butin: 300 étendards de l'armée romaine; de grandes quantités d'aloès, de grands morceaux de bois d'aloès, chacun d'un bois de 70 ou 80 livres, de la soie syrienne, du poivre, du lin, du sucre, du gingembre, de l'argent, des vêtements de soie, des tapis de laine, enfin, on y trouve également une grande quantité d'animaux sauvages (voir la source).

N° de chapitre	an	ère chrétienne	Régeste
8	6445	652/653	Mauis conquiert Rhodes et abat le Colosse après 1360 ans; celui-ci fut acheté par un marchand juif d'Édesse, qui chargea le bronze récupéré sur la statue sur 900 chameaux.
9	6209	716/717	Léon, le futur empereur, pour se réconcilier avec Justinien II, lui fait don de 500 moutons lorsqu'il le rencontre; l'empereur le fait alors <i>spatharios</i> .
10	6209	716/717	Les Arabes assiègent Constantinople : 400 navires chargés de grain arrivent, accompagnés par des dromons; un second convoi de 360 navires de transport les rejoint.
11	6235	742/743	Famine à Constantinople durant le siège de la cité mené par Constantin V contre Artavasde : 1 <i>modios</i> d'orge coûte 12 <i>nomismata</i> ; 1 <i>modios</i> de légumes, 19 <i>nomismata</i> ; 1 <i>modios</i> de millet, 8 <i>nomismata</i> ; 1 pinte de vin, 1 <i>semissis</i> ; pour l'huile, 5 mesures valent 1 <i>nomisma</i> .
12	6258	766/767	Constantin V veut restaurer l'aqueduc de Valens; il fait venir dans la ville les artisans suivants : 1 000 maçons et 200 plâtriers d'Asie et du Pont; 500 céramistes de Grèce et des îles; 5 000 travailleurs de Thrace et 200 briquetiers.
13	6258	766/767	Constantin rend bon marché les denrées et, tel un nouveau roi Midas, accumule l'or et dépouille les paysans, lesquels en raison des levées fiscales continues étaient forcés de vendre leur production à vil prix.
14	6301	805/810	Nicéphore demande à un marchand de chandelles du forum de Constantinople d'avouer combien d'or il possède; celui-ci répond 100 livres. Alors l'empereur lui répond qu'il ne doit pas prendre sur lui une telle préoccupation et l'invite à ramener chez lui dix livres.

AGAPIUS, THEOPHILUS AND MUSLIM SOURCES

by Robert G. HOYLAND

For two centuries Byzantinists have known and written about an "eastern source" that was used by the three Christian chroniclers Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), Dionysius of Tellmahre (d. 845) and Agapius of Menbij (wr. 940s) for some of their information on events in the realm of the Muslim caliphate.¹ In recent times this "eastern source" has come to be identified with the historical work of Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785), who served as an astrologer in the court of the caliphs al-Manṣūr (754–75) and al-Mahdi (775–85). Dionysius and Agapius actually cite him as a source for their own compositions and so it looks like an open and shut case. I have contributed to that idea by giving to my translation of the common material found in the three aforementioned chroniclers the title of "Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle".² However, my intention in making this material available was not to say that the question is now solved and that we can reconstruct the "original" text of Theophilus' chronicle, but rather to highlight the complexity of the transmission of this shared body of historical information and to provide an aide to further investigation of its nature and scope.

It is evident that there is a common "eastern source" underlying the chroniclers of Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius, and to my mind still the best contender for its author is Theophilus. Yet it is equally clear that each of them substantially reworked it—abbreviating, expanding, refashioning and supplementing it—and so it is very difficult to determine its exact content. Many aspects of its format are also unclear. What language was it in—Syriac or Greek? Did it principally treat secular events or also church affairs? Why are its contents so diverse: short notes about natural phenomena and long anecdotes about political and military machinations, pro-Byzantine propaganda and insider insights on the third Arab civil war. It has been asserted that it possessed a detailed chronology.³

1. For references and further discussion of the issues raised in this paragraph see the introduction to my *Theophilus*, pp. 1–38.

2. I would have called it something along the lines of "A translation of notices common to the chroniclers Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius," but that would not have appealed to the marketers of the book.

3. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, The Mardaites, in *Arab-Byzantine coin and history*, ed. by T. Goodwin, London 2012, pp. 27–38, here at pp. 28–9; M. JANKOWIAK, The first Arab siege of Constantinople,

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & E. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 49), Paris 2015, pp. 388–401.

and yet the three later dependent chroniclers tend to employ their own dating systems and these often do not tally.⁴ Given these uncertainties Muriel Debié and Maria Gonsky are right to urge caution and to insist on a more circumspect approach towards the "external source" until there has been more careful investigation of its contents and composition.

I have said most of what I want to say on this subject in the introduction to my aforementioned book, but I still have some unfinished business in connection with Agapius that I would like to conclude here. Firstly, the Florence manuscript (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Orientali 323) that is the unique witness to the Islamic period of Agapius' *Chronicle* has been restored since 1912, when Alexander Vasiliev and Louis Cheikho used it to produce their editions. Folios that were stuck together because of humidity, and so "could not be transcribed nor photographed" and were "illegible," can now be read once more with relative ease. This particularly concerns folios 98^v-100^v and 104^v-106^v, which deal with the reign of Mu'awwiz I (661-80) and Abd al-Malik (685-705) respectively. I edited and translated these folios in an appendix to my book on Theophylus, but there are other places in the manuscript where water damage, though less extensive, obliged Cheikho and Vasiliev to omit sentences and which can now be reinstated from the restored manuscript. This is particularly the case for folios 97^v-98^r, which treat the first six years of Mu'awwiz's caliphate, and so I edit and translate them below. Another reason for singling out this section is that it serves to illustrate an important point about Agapius, namely that the "current source" Theophylus is by no means his sole informant. In these folios in particular, but also at other points in his narrative, he makes heavy use of one or more Muslim sources, presumably because Theophylus had little to offer at these points. We cannot precisely identify this Muslim material, for though almost every sentence has a counterpart in a Muslim source (and often close correspondence in

But in 2011, pp. 274–280, which ends on p. 281 illustrates nicely that Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapetus made up their own dates, months (Theophanes principally uses the *Annus Mundi*, *Incarnationis Mundi* years, and Agapetus then dates and regnal years of caliphs), even where their dates add up to a point covering more than a decade (for example a matter of study on the siege of Constantinople in 674–678, which is covered in some detail by Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapetus was so away).

the Greek word *epistolary* (Dionysius and Agapitus was so busy, says the Greek text, with his correspondence. *Wiederholer* quoted n. 3), and Jaskowski, who translates the text as 'Theophilus is faced with the choice of using either an existing letter or a "fresh" letter', but of course there were other options available to him. I have suggested earlier — using some of the same evidence (Princeton, 1997, pp. 406–7) — that Theophilus may have turned to some earlier, existing letter, like the one contemporary Nicephorus, and this possibility has been recently revived. After Thomas Tobin's report that it is hard to explain why Theophilus would have used Theophilus' letter if it was not genuine, it is well known that historical evidence can be very elusive. (The 1970s in the West have been years of *deconstruction* (Dionysius does not say 'genuine', *Wiederholer* says 'genuine' in a non-technical sense).)

wordings), it does not conform as a whole to any one of our extant texts. All we can say with some confidence is that its focus and stance suggest that it is of Syrian provenance and exhibits some pro-Umayyad tendencies.¹

Secondly, a close comparison of Agapius (A) and Theophanes (T) reveals that there are many occasions when they share information that is not in Dionysius (D). In the extract I edit below this is true of the reports about Mu'āwiyā's favourable treatment of the westerners over the easterners and the raids of Bust ibn Artāt and 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khālid, including the latter's settlement of Slavs in the region of Apamea. There are also many times across the period 630–750 when Theophanes and Agapius differ in details from Dionysius:

- Capture of Arwad: T and A start by saying that on hearing of Roman forces moving against him Mu'āwīya sails to Arwad to besiege it (HOYLAND, *Theophanes*, pp. 134–5).
- Battle of Phoenix: T and A say that relatives of a trumpeter⁸ destroy Arab ships (not in D) and that the sea was dyed with blood whereas D speaks of dense spray (*ibid.*, pp. 141–4).
- Constantine V and Artabasdos send envoys to the caliph Walid II in Damascus: in T and A, but not in D (*ibid.*, pp. 239–40).
- Yazid III is called Deficient by T (*ho leiptos*) and A (*al-naqis*), but tyrant by D (*ibid.*, pp. 245, 248–29).
- Umar II writes a letter to Leo III on religion: in T and A, but not in D (*ibid.*, p. 216).

What is significant here is not so much that Dionysius differs on all of these points, but that Theophanes and Agapius agree on all of them. It may be that this shared material comes from Theophylus' chronicle and Dionysius chose to omit it or to go his own way, or it may be that Theophanes and Agapius used a different version of Theophylus to Dionysius, or even that they both had access to a minor additional source not available to Dionysius. As with so much else to do with these crucial Christian chroniclers, further study will be required before a solution can be proffered.

7. Consider, for example, the notice about 'Abd al-Malik commanding a raid when he was only sixteen years old (see note 31 below), which is not found in any extant Muslim source. However, there is implied criticism of Mu'awiya in the notices about his use of a *marhar* and his dealings with the family of 'Ali.

Phoebanes has "two Christ-loving brothers, sons of the trumpeter." (Agapius has two brothers of a man called the trumpeter.) It looks like Agapius has conflated "Christ-loving brothers" with "two just brothers."

governed Egypt during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb for four years and during the caliphate of 'Uthmān for three years and ten months and during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyā for two and a half years. Mu'āwiyā appointed his son, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-As, as governor of Egypt in his place for two years.⁴²

In the fourth year of Mu'āwiyā (44/664–5) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walid took prisoners in the land of the Romans and the Muslims reached Koloneia⁴³ of the land of the Romans.⁴⁴ Also in it Mu'āwiyā made the *maqṣūra* in Damascus and Marwān ibn al-Hakam made it in Medina.⁴⁵ Also in it the *manābir*⁴⁶ were brought out to the prayer-place (*al-masalla*) on the two feasts:⁴⁷ the (customary) way was contrary to this, for the caliphs (before Mu'āwiyā) used to give the sermon on the feasts in the prayer-places on the surface of the ground.⁴⁸ Also in it Mu'āwiyā led the people in pilgrimage⁴⁹ and stayed in Medina in his residence.

(98) Al-Hasan ibn 'Alī, 'Abdallāh ibn Jafar and Ibn 'Abbās⁵⁰ came to him asking him to be true to⁵¹ what he had vouchsafed to al-Hasan and what he had stipulated on himself. He said: "Are you not satisfied, o sons of Hāshim, when I ensure for you (your

42. Yaq 2.264; Mar 307. Tab 2.27–8 has almost the same wording as Agapius for the whole of this passage, except that he has 'Amr serve "two years minus one month" under Mu'āwiyā. He notes that al-Walid succeeded 'Abdallāh's governorship at "about two years."

43. *Qoloneia*, modern Çankırıhisar in Pontus, which is the Black Sea region of modern Turkey. Also the name of a Koloneia the editions of Cheikho, Vasiliev and al-Tadmuri, which had been partly, were half completely, since the MS was for them, as Vasiliev states in a footnote here, "totally illegible."

44. Cf. 100; Tab 2.67; Yaq 2.285 (*qalimla qalimla*). There is a long account of a campaign that 'Abd al-Rahmān led in Anatolia in year 4 of Mu'āwiyā (AG 975) in the Maronite chronicle (SCWSC, pp. 50–51; see also Thompson, p. 342).

45. This is also noted by Tab 2.70 and Yaq 2.265 ("Mu'āwiyā made the *maqṣūra* in the mosque [of Damascus]"; see also the comment). A *maqṣūra* is usually explained as a separate enclosure in a mosque reserved for the use of the ruler. Muslim sources mostly agree that Mu'āwiyā was the first to deploy such an enclosure (Farrāh al-Bihar al-Madīna al-Madīna ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866, pp. 347–8) says that Ziyād ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān's governor of Basra was the first to do so and he implies that it allowed Ziyād to give his own public sermons in the mosque (of Basra) without having to pass through his subjects. There is also a long story of Mu'āwiyā's *maqṣūra* in Damascus too (F. B. Flood, *The great mosque of Damascus: sources on the making of an Umayyad ritual culture*, Leiden 2001, pp. 120–1, 125–6, 130–1). Muslim sources tend to explain the adoption of the *maqṣūra* as a response to a similar enclosure built by a caliph of the mosque by a cat or a dog (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'arif*, 1.553).

46. *Manābir* is usually translated as pulpit, but it is a borrowing from Ge'ez (*manbar/mahbar*), where it appears to have been used for a pulpit, with the meaning of seat/throne, and so it is possible that *manābir* here means a throne or a seat of authority.

47. Yaq 2.285 has *manābir* in the plural. He brought out the pulpits in the prayer-place on the two feasts. Presumably the feasts are *al-ʿashūra* and *al-fite*, the two principal feasts of the Islamic year, the first of which is on the 10th of Muharram and the last of Ramadan respectively.

48. Yaq 2.285 has *manābir* in the plural. *Manābir* is five steps higher than that of the prophet Muhammad.

49. Tab 2.70; Yaq 2.265; Mar 307.

50. This passage is not recorded by Muslim sources. 'Abdallāh ibn Jafar was a brother of al-Hasan ibn 'Alī and 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amr was a cousin of the prophet Muhammad.

51. *ʿAla* is a Ge'ez word meaning "protection", but it is also a common Arabic word meaning "to ensure" or "to guarantee".

lives),⁵² even though you killed 'Uthmān?" Ibn 'Abbās was about to speak, but al-Hasan stopped him. Then he (Mu'āwiyā) resumed speaking and reiterated his original statement. When Ibn 'Abbās saw that he was not going to stop, he went up to him and said: "As for the evil that you (claim to) have received from us, it is for you to look into your own nature,"⁵³ but you, by God, are more appropriate (to be accused of it) than us. As for your statement that we killed 'Uthmān, rather it is you, by God, who killed him and now you are making people believe that you are seeking (vengeance) for his blood".⁵⁴ Mu'āwiyā was subdued (by this) and he refrained from answering.⁵⁵

In the fifth year of Mu'āwiyā (45/665–6) dissension occurred among the Christians on the subject of Christ, glory be to Him. Some of them celebrated the Resurrection on the Feast of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and some celebrated the Resurrection on the day of the New Sunday (the first Sunday after Easter).⁵⁶ Also in this year 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khālid raided the Romans and took many prisoners, and he brought out with him a great number of the Slavs who were in the land of the Romans and settled them in one of the villages of Apamea.⁵⁷

In the sixth year of Mu'āwiyā (46/666–7) Busr ibn Artāt raided the Romans and took captive a number of them and plundered their cities;⁵⁸ then he returned the next year and also took many captives.⁵⁹

52. Both Ya'qūbī and Ibn Tāhīr al-Maqdisī (see note 55 below) have "your blood" (*damakum*), i.e. your lives, which makes good sense here, and it is likely that this word has dropped out of Agapius. One should probably also assume that Agapius' verb here should be in the fourth form (*naḥḥu*) rather than the second (*naḥḥu*); cf. Ya'qūbī in note 55 below.

53. There is a kink in the pen stroke linking the "q" and the "k" of this word, so I have read *ḥablaḥḥu*; but there are no dots above the kink, so one could disregard it as a letter and read *ḥablaḥḥu*.

54. This last statement would suit better the time before Mu'āwiyā became caliph, when his justification for standing against 'Alī was that he was seeking justice for his kinsman 'Uthmān.

55. Cf. Yaq 2.264–5: "Mu'āwiyā went on pilgrimage in the year 44 [...] and when he went to Medina a group of the sons of Hāshim came to him and addressed him about their affairs. He said: 'Are you not satisfied, o sons of Hāshim, that we safeguard (*naḥḥu*) for you your blood even though you killed 'Uthmān?' [...] Ibn 'Abbās said to him: 'All that you say to us, Mu'āwiyā, comes from the malice within you, but that evil you attribute to us) is, by God, more appropriate (to attribute) to you. You killed 'Uthmān and then you set about lying to the people that you were seeking his blood.' Mu'āwiyā was subdued by this." Ibn Tāhīr al-Maqdisī (*Kitāb al-baḥḥ*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899–1919), 6.5: "When Mu'āwiyā was on pilgrimage, al-Hasan, al-Husayn and Ibn 'Abbās came to him and asked him to fulfil what he had vouchsafed. He said: 'Are you not satisfied, o sons of Hāshim, that we have spared (*naḥḥu*) you your blood even though you are killers of 'Uthmān'." Bold type indicates the same words or words of the same root.

56. This notice is from the eastern source (Hoyland, *Theophanes*, p. 153).

57. That 'Abd al-Rahmān raided the Romans in this year is known to Muslim sources (e.g. IK 192; Tab 2.81; Yaq 2.285), but only Agapius and Theophanes mention the Slavs and their settlement in the region of Apamea (Hoyland, *Theophanes*, p. 152).

58. Cf. Theoph., p. 153: "Bousour made an expedition and, after taking many captives, returned home." This is not recorded by Muslim sources, though Basawī 1.34 says that he raided 'Adana (*al-Ma'rifat wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. A. D. al-Umari, Beirut 1981).

59. There now follows a very lengthy account of the rebellion of Shahrbaraz against 'Umayyad and Mu'āwiyā's involvement in it, which I edited and translated in my *Theophanes*, pp. 156–8 and appendix 3.

that they all belonged to the same region, were part of the same event, or copied similar portions of the same Arab-Muslim administration. It is now believed that it was one of the recurring features of the Abbasid period that scholars of different religious communities, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Pagans—sometimes referred to as Sabians—and Muslims took part in the same "translation" and more broadly "transmission" movement. Modern scholars do not however seem to take it for granted that the same could have been the case in the previous period. Theophilus on these grounds is undoubtedly in a better "cross-cultural" position than any other Christian chronicler writing in a better "cross-cultural" position than any other Christian chronicler writing in a monastery, but this is no assumption that may actually have biased the way in which the transmission process has been considered. Theophilus is all the more interesting in this picture since he is not himself a Syrian or a monk. He may for that reason have seemed more in the line of classical historiography and thus more familiar to Islamicists and Byzantinists. Now, a study of the Oriental historiographical tradition in the light of a better understanding of the chronicle genre raises even more serious methodological questions about the transmission.

As I said, Theophilus' historical work is not preserved as such, but it is known in Syriac through another lost work, the chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahre, excerpted in its main title in the lost works of Michael the Great and the anonymous chronicler of 629/7. It was also read in Syriac and integrated into an Arabic chronicle by Agapius, the Chaldean bishop of Hama in ca. 940. The task of gaining access to and understanding of Theophilus' work is all the more complicated since we do not have any other clearly marked version than the one in Agapius, who writes:

Theophilus the deacon, from whom we took these accounts said: "I was myself a constant witness of most events and I would write things down so that nothing of them escaped me." He has every writing about that and we have abbreviated from them this book for writing. It added is a labor as perceived to be indispensable, but we avoided profusity.

Thus Theophilus certainly wrote about contemporary events but we have no clue about the limits of his work, its nature, or its form. Agapius also says that he added material to the source, making it even more difficult to understand what comes from Theophilus and what from other excerpted sources.

Unsurprisingly, Dionysius in his preface, says that he made use of Theophilus' work and mentions as the first source being a Chaldean, but did not abuse the "Orthodox" (that is the Syrian) Church of whom Dionysius was the patriarch, and did not deviate from the truth.¹¹ The conclusion must be that part of the transmission process even among the Christians. Theophilus was not one of several sources used by Dionysius.

Several lines of evidence have been added in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, some of which also concern with the Christian and thus covered the same period as Dionysius' chronicle and lost work and Theophilus independently. Theophilus is also mentioned by Barhebraeus who passed on work specifying that he was a Maronite and wrote his

Chronicle in Syriac. It is quite clear, however, that Barhebraeus did not use it directly: he mentions Theophilus not as one of his sources but rather as a prominent scholar in ecclesiology, as well as a translator from Greek into Syriac.¹² Theophilus is thus a ghost of Syriac historiography, mentioned but almost never explicitly quoted, no doubt because chroniclers did not usually cite their sources, except perhaps in their preface—and even then, not all of them—and because he was a Chalcedonian. If he receives a mention at all it is precisely because he was not himself an "Orthodox" Christian. Concerning Theophanes, we have no mention whatsoever that he used Theophilus' work.

THEOPHILUS' CHRONICLE AND ITS TRANSMISSION

One should keep in mind that several other lost Greek, Syriac, and Arabic sources were incorporated at different stages of the transmission in the extant chronicles. Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, we can already stress that we are not dealing with compilers who merely copied earlier sources.¹³ We do not have access to the sources themselves, let alone to the sources of the sources, but to extracts, which were selected, cut, and pasted in order to fit the pattern of the new chronicle and the goal of its author.¹⁴ What we read is the result of this editing process, even though we can get some idea of what the original sources looked like.

As for the content of Theophilus' chronicle, the scant testimonies—especially Dionysius' statement that he wrote "narratives resembling ecclesiastical history"¹⁵—suggest that he wrote a history of contemporary events rather than a short or universal chronicle. In Dionysius' mind, the genre implied making "partial and summary histories without observing the times exactly or the sequence of events."¹⁶ The period encompassed by Theophilus' work is not known, nor is the scope of the earlier chronicles or histories he may have used. His contribution seems thus to have been that of an eyewitness and field historian.

Given the scanty evidence of what we can surely recognise as coming from Theophilus' work, two different attitudes are possible: the most widespread is maximalist and posits that his work was a universal chronicle—meaning that it started with Creation—and used Byzantine as well as Arabic sources. From this all-encompassing source, Theophanes

11. About the two books of Homer, see now A. HUXFORD, *Syriac Heliopetides: the fall of Troy in Syriac historiography*, *Le Muséon* 126 (2013), pp. 285–317, arguing that this is a reference to the *Epic* and not to the *Iliad* itself: the translation of Calicut that Barhebraeus attributed to Theophilus should probably be reassigned to another Theophilus of Edessa, a physician. Barhebraeus also states wrongly, that Theophilus was the first to use the Greek vowels for writing Syriac; on this issue, see L. COXLEY, *When were the five Greek vowel-signs introduced into Syriac writing?*, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 56 (2011), pp. 307–25.

12. It is misleading, in my view, to suggest that translating the material shared by the different chronicles in Greek, Syriac and Arabic amounts in any way to translating Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle (HUXFORD, *Theophilus*, p. 33) or that it is possible to say anything about Theophilus' sources (ibid., pp. 23–9).

13. Cf. M. DREY, *Historiographie tardive antique: une histoire en question*, in *Études de littérature*, ed. S. MORIC, forthcoming.

14. Mich. SUT, as in note 10.

15. Ibid.

16. The translation of Huxford is: "I was myself a constant witness of most events and I would write things down so that nothing of them escaped me." He has every writing about that and we have abbreviated from them this book for writing. It added is a labor as perceived to be indispensable, but we avoided profusity.

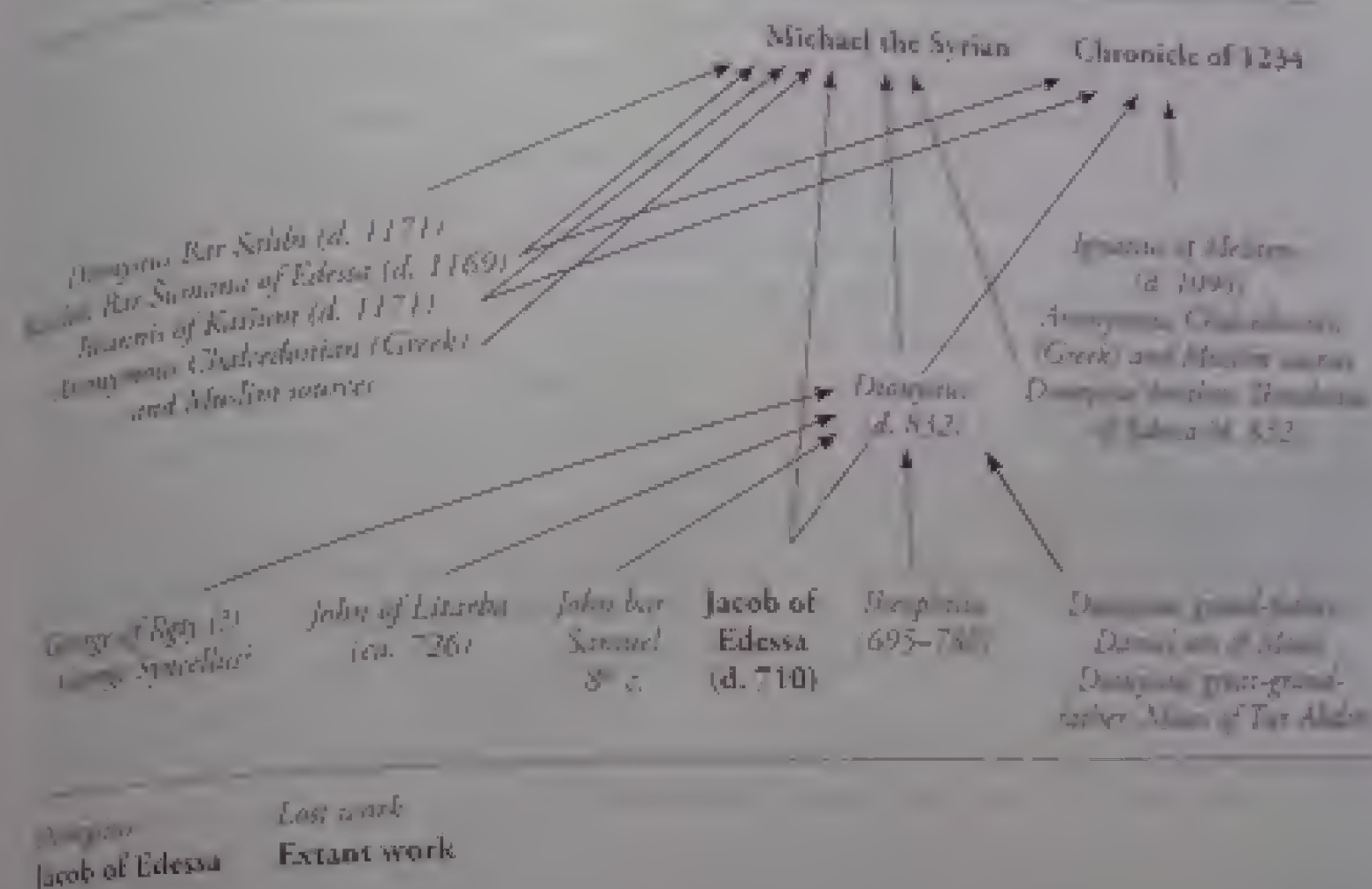
17. Ibid., p. 317.

18. Ibid., p. 317.

and the Syriac and Syro-Arabic chronicles, but also in some obscure way Spanish chronicles, excerpted the so-called common material and incorporated it into their own work, taking or leaving some parts, cutting and pasting in accordance with the reception text. A more cautious—or sceptical as some would put it—attitude is to try to identify as far as possible what material can securely be attributed to Theophilus and what is likely to have transited through what could have been more a history of contemporary events than a chronicle as such. It is along this line that we would like to review the evidence we have about Theophilus.

Outline of the transmission of *Therophilus*' chronicle

The layers of now often lost sources incorporated into the extant Syriac chronicles



From Baghdad to Constantinople?

If we accept the assumption that Theophilus' work reached Theophanes, we have then to explain how Theophilus' Syriac history was transmitted to Theophanes in Constantinople in Greek. It has been suggested¹¹ that George Syncellus or some other learned monk in the Palestinian monasteries renowned for their multilingualism made a translation of it and that George brought it along with him when he fled to the capital and handed it over to Theophanes. Another possible transmission channel, however, from Baghdad to Constantinople, has been overlooked although it could shed a different light on the process.¹² We have to remember that Theophilus' astrological works were actually brought from Baghdad to Constantinople ca. 775, presumably by the so-called Pseudo-Stephanus of Byzantium, who composed a horoscope of Islam containing historical data.¹³ Theophilus' chronicle could then have followed the same path. This, however, is difficult to prove.

a closer look at the textual parallels between Pseudo-Stephanus and the Syriac sources—one concerning Muḥammad's life, the other one a natural phenomenon¹⁹—reveals, in fact, that Pseudo-Stephanus and the Syriac sources share the same version of Muḥammad's life, whereas Theophanes has a different source. This short passage shows that Pseudo-Stephanus (who possibly relied on information from Theophilus) shared the same source not with Theophanes, but with the Syriac chronicles, and that it was, in all likelihood, the work of Theophilus. The transmission path from Baghdad to Constantinople was indeed followed by the astrological works of Theophilus, although does it so hint that it was also the case of his history?²⁰ Thus Pseudo-Stephanus may have borrowed from Theophilus' history, but there is no evidence that the latter was translated and reached Constantinople, nor that it was then used by Theophanes. It is impossible to go further: only two common passages in Pseudo-Stephanus and the Syriac tradition can be identified, of which one is really relevant. This scanty evidence however does not advocate for such a transmission process.

Given that this transmission circuit seems to be a dead-end, we will approach the historiographical landscape of the seventh and eighth centuries from a broader perspective in order to better understand how the historical material was produced and then transmitted in Greek and in Syriac during this period.

The availability of books and libraries

From "intercultural" to "interconfessional" transmission²¹

It would be simplistic to imagine that in this period only one or two historians wrote in Greek about contemporary events. At the example of George Syncellus, Theophanes, and the Syrian orthodox chroniclers, writing history among Christians became, since the sixth century, the remit of clerics and monks. That history was increasingly written in monasteries is in agreement with the gradual change in the structures of learning, which shifted from "public" to Church schools, from Athens and Constantinople to provincial communities. That does not mean that history was confined to ecclesiastical matters, nor that a tradition for secular literature monks is as long been maintained, but that it could be the source for authors who remained anonymous. The chronicles of this period clearly have several features in common with the classical models of history writing, nor do they

share the same high Greek literary standard when they are written in Greek.²² They follow instead in the footsteps of the new genres of ecclesiastical history and chronicle designed by Eusebius in order to write the history of the Christians and the Christian Empire.

It is striking that historians whose names we know and about whom we have biographical information are all high-ranking clergymen such as George, *synkellos* of the patriarch of Constantinople, Theophanes, who came from a wealthy family—his father was a *strategos*²³—and was acquainted with the court, John of Ephesus, who was a familiar of the emperor Justinian, to mention only a few examples. Even the leaders of churches did not find writing chronicles beneath them—one thinks of the Byzantine patriarch Nicephorus (who came from a prominent family), and of the Syrian Orthodox patriarchs Dionysius of Tellmahre and Michael the Great. This seems to have been particularly the case in the Syrian Orthodox Church, where the patriarch, the bishops, and abbots of the great monasteries—who authored the vast majority of the chronicles—were the only representatives of communities that were "non-imperial," that is were only minorities because they were seen as heretics by the Byzantines and were Christians within the non-Christian Sassanian and then Muslim Empires. A similar tendency is, however, also perceptible in the Byzantine Empire.

No histories authored by laymen are known between Theophylact Simocatta (ca. 630) and the "middle Byzantine historians."²⁴ Does this mean that none was produced, or rather that none survived, or perhaps that the material for writing history was not left in a loose form? As said above, we have indications that at least in some monasteries of Syria and Mesopotamia the task of writing contemporary as well as ancient history continued during the so-called Dark Centuries, although the authors of such texts often remain anonymous. Records of contemporary natural disasters, military campaigns, succession of emperors, patriarchs and bishops were kept at least in the leading monasteries alongside the hagiographies of the local monks, bishops and saints, as the Syrian tradition exemplifies.²⁵ Three anonymous chronicles composed in Greek in the ninth century are preserved in manuscripts today in the Vatican, Madrid and Paris; these made extensive use of Eusebius, Africanus, and Malalas.²⁶ This revival of historical writing shows that

22. On Greek "literature," see A. CAMERON, *New themes and styles in Greek literature: a title revised, in Greek literature in late antiquity: dynamism, didacticism, christianism*, ed. by S. F. Johnson, Aldershot 2006, pp. 11–28.

23. C. MANGO, *Byzantium: the empire of the New Rome*, London 1980, p. 50.

24. George of Pisidia is, to some extent, an exception; although his poems, sponsored by the emperor Heraclius, were not a history *stricto sensu*, they represented nevertheless official reports and such were one of Theophanes' sources for that period. For an overview of Byzantine historians, see R. TREADGOLD, *The early Byzantine historians*, New York – Basingstoke 2007, and ibid., *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York – Basingstoke 2013.

25. See M. DEBIE, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque*, Louvain 2015.

26. The chronicle in *Vat. gr. 2210* (late 10th c.) goes down to 854, that in Madrid, BN 4701 (same 12th–11th c.) down to ca. 880; see I. ŠVČENKO, *The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800*, *DOP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–93, at 284–7. The chronicle in *Paris gr. 854* was compiled during the reign of Basil I (d. 886); the text is now edited by A. PETEROVIC, *La Chronique anonyme de Paris (ca. 874), communément appelée 'Eckhard' isotopos: édition, introduction et commentaire*, dissertation, University of Aix-Marseille 2013; the chronicle was meant to cover the period from the Crown to the emperor Anastasius, but is only preserved to the reign of Old Testamentary King David, which is probably the reason why it went unnoticed.

19. Muriel Debie, *Requiem for a Prophet: Muḥammad in Byzantine & Armenian Sources*, *Journal of Identification et de l'histoire* 18 (2011), pp. 101–11. See also M. DEBIE, *Requiem for a Prophet: Muḥammad in Byzantine & Armenian Sources*, *Journal of Identification et de l'histoire* 18 (2011), pp. 101–11.

20. See Muriel Debie, *The Transmission of Theophilus' History*, *Journal of Identification et de l'histoire* 18 (2011), pp. 101–11.

21. The transmission of the Syriac chronicles to the West, *The end of the beholder: the life of the emperor Justinian*, *Journal of Identification et de l'histoire* 18 (2011), pp. 101–11.

22. See Muriel Debie, *The Transmission of Theophilus' History*, *Journal of Identification et de l'histoire* 18 (2011), pp. 101–11.

such books were still available or known in Constantinople after the Dark Ages. What some historiography tells us on the other hand is that Greek chronicles were available in no form also during the Dark Ages. Jacob of Edessa, John of Ephesus, John bar Samuel, and Theophylaktos of Antioch composed their chronicles partly drawing upon Greek sources. That is where the religious inter-connection comes into play.

When the two great competitors, the Eastern Orthodox who had once belonged to the Byzantine Empire had the choice between staying or fleeing to Southern Italy or Constantinople, the Miaphysites, regarded as heretics in the empire, had no such possibility. They remained in the eastern provinces under the Sassanid and Arab-Muslim rule, just replaced the Byzantines. Although they favoured a Christian emperor, they did not feel at home under what they resented as persecutions to enforce imperial orthodoxy. When the emperor came under serious threat from the Persians and then from the Arabs, the issue of Christian belief became even more crucial: the issue of *homoousios* "orthodoxy" — as it is still understood today — versus "heresy" in its different manifestations — Nestorianism versus Miaphysitism, Nestorians, Monophysites; Monophysites versus Chalcedonians later on, Iconoclasm versus Iconodulism — became central and led to the distinct split between the Eastern, the Oriental Orthodox, and the Western and Catholic Churches. The search for internal unity of faith had political as much as religious grounds at a time when it was common assumption that correct belief guaranteed personal and God's protection in earthly matters and ensured the empire's security, as the Sassanids were well understood, whereas Malala was concerned in his chronicle with the strength of Christianity over paganism. Theophanes was concerned with orthodoxy, "God rewarded and blessed" the champions of orthodoxy and the reward was "eternal glory." This had consequences on the way history was written and historical information was transmitted in the Christian Churches.⁸ The issue is thus not only one of "orthodoxy" versus "heresy" — that is between Christian, Zoroastrian, Jewish and Muslim — but also of orthodoxy between different Christian affiliations.

All these are usually at hand in the unannounced compilation of lists of ecclesiastical and political names. They also serve the circulation of historical material between Eastern and Western writers, as well as between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian, Roman and Greek, Byzantine, heretical and orthodox Christian writers.¹ The Byzantine

27. G. L. Herlihy, "The process of acculturation amongst overseas immigrants" (Joachim and others in the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* in 2 volumes de la recherche de l'ethnographie, 1966, pp. 107-127), and in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* (1966), pp. 107-127, argues for the importance of the process of acculturation in the study of the immigrant experience. See also Herlihy, *The process of acculturation amongst overseas immigrants* (1966), pp. 107-127, and in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* (1966), pp. 107-127.

"Dark Centuries" were no doubt a period of construction of Christian identities under the "shadow of the mosque," as S. Griffiths put it,²⁰ and earlier under the shadow of the Persian occupation. Christian historians used it to promote their own view of both the past and recent events; they wrote and constructed history according to their theology of history, which differed according to their confessional affiliation and their understanding of orthodoxy.

THE ORIGINALITY OF THEOPHANES' *CHARONIA*

That subtitle may sound provocative, for, since C. Mango's 1978 article, it is often suggested that Theophanes merely copied and pasted material provided by George Syncellus.¹¹ Theophanes' claim that he himself researched thoroughly not only historical texts but all sorts of writings is seldom taken at face value. However seriously ill at the time when he composed his chronography, he probably was not alone in performing this task. As the abbot of one of the main Byzantine monasteries and a member of a wealthy family, he may have had not only personal servants but also a secretary, if only for the management of the monastery, and a librarian as well as fellow monks trained in copying manuscripts. As we know from the literary activity of Eusebius, writing in late antiquity consisted very much in a collective task of excerpting, reading aloud, and writing, the "author" being the one who selected and reorganised the authoritative material.¹² Originality was not the aim of such authors, who consistently pretended that they did not add anything of their own and where "authority" was the catchword. Historians summarised world history, choosing some episodes and ignoring others and writing an *ekloge* or *epitome*, an "excerpted" or "abbreviated" version of various sources which could then be assembled in a lengthy text such as George Syncellus' *Chronography*. Their own additions concerned mainly contemporary events, for which they were unable to find any valuable information from good authorities, and the way in which the material borrowed from other texts was rearranged. Theophanes is no different on that ground.

early Islamic Near East: 1. Problems in the literary source material, ed. by A. Cameron and L. J. Conrad (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 1), Princeton 1992, pp. 317–401, followed by Horowitz, *Arabia, Syria and Greek historiography* (quoted n. 41).

40. S. H. CARMICHAEL, *The Church in the shadow of the mosque: a Britain and Muslim in the world of Islam*, Princeton, 24038.

41. See Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle. Recent scholarship has turned to the question of the authorship and genre of the chronicle in a more positive way and several studies regard Theophanes' chronicle as a work of literature: A. Kazhdan, *A history of Byzantine literature (680-850)*, in collaboration with L. I. Sherry, Clv. Angelidi, Athens 1999, pp. 705–80; S. Limasani, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSt* 56, 1995, pp. 317–22; Scott, The events of every year reported n. 27; C. J. F. Pannik, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers*, prepared n. 27; C. J. F. Pannik, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers*, prepared n. 27; C. J. F. Pannik, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers*, prepared n. 27.

M. Jelliffe and A. Modest (*Byzantina Australiensia* 11, Canberra 1981), pp. 67-70.
 V. A. Kazantsev, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Supplement to *Vigiliae Christianae*, 11, Leiden 1983). M. CAHILL, M.-Y. PIERRE, M. DUBI & G. FRAISSÉ, La question des éditions de l'Édition scientifique et le livre X, in Eusebe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique* (commentaire I, Guide d'introduction, sous la dir. de S. Moulet, L. Perron, Paris - Rome 1982).

these two periods.⁴⁰ In the reigns of Heraclius (610–41) and Constant II, Theophanes and the *Oriental chronicles* are a narrative source which contained speeches and was well informed on court and eastern affairs, battles with the Arabs, Heraclius' farewell to Syria, Arab conquest of Egypt, situation in Syria and Mesopotamia, capture of Cyprus and Arwad by Mu'awiyah—which L. J. Conrad regarded as a piece from Theophylus' *diogenes*—a battle of Phoenix, failed rebellion of Shapur against Constant, defeat of the Arabs near to the 610s, and successful Mardaites raids against the Arabs,⁴¹ to which the murder of Constant's brother and of Constant himself in Sicily should be added. This source, too, will be informed about events both in Constantinople and on the battlefield, which suggests that it was produced by someone who was close to the court and wrote in Greek rather than in Syriac.⁴² In another instance, the *Oriental chronicles* mention Constant IV's ousting of his brothers (681–2) in much more detail than Theophanes and he has altogether different version.⁴³ This suggests that Dionysius of Tellmahre had access to a Byzantine source with speeches, which Theophanes did not use.

One of the sources used by Theophanes and by the *Oriental chronicles*, possibly to be identified with the one I have just outlined, stemmed from Northern Syria and was written in Greek. The Syrian origin of this is betrayed by the use of the Macedonian word *anabasis* (appeals by Theophanes)—and by the interest in the province.⁴⁴ This source also drew most information from a list of natural phenomena—it makes brief mentions of droughts in Edessa, of signs and earthquakes in Syria and nearby Palestine—and has a list of local rulers, notably those of Apamea. It also mentions the settlement of 5,000 Slavs in the village of Seleucia ad Belum. All this points to an origin in Apamea. This source is probably the same that provided the account of the conquest of the island of Arwad by Mu'awiyah.⁴⁵ The bishop of Apamea, Thomas or Thomarichos, is mentioned in the intermediary between Mu'awiyah and the inhabitants of Arwad. This source, then, also had access to information about Arab affairs. Its geographical scope points to the frontier of John bar Sarmak, who was from the "western country and the islands," meaning western Syria, the sea zone and the islands. Unfortunately we do not know precisely what John bar Sarmak wrote in which language he wrote and cannot elaborate on the nature of his information. If we were to maintain that Theophanes had access to this source through Theophylus, then we would have to suppose that this source was first translated and incorporated into Theophylus' *diogenes* for Syria and then retranslated into Greek and incorporated by Theophanes, all in all a very improbable transmission process.

In the second period (685–717), Theophanes had a Byzantine source at hand, with names and official functions which are absent from the *Oriental chronicles*. The latter had access to another Byzantine source which was well informed about the reigns of

Constantine IV, Justinian II, and Tiberius III Apsimaras, Justinian's dealings with the Khazars, the rise and fall of Philippicus, and the accession of Anastasius II, about the revolt of Theodosius III against the latter, and, finally, the betrothal of Leo's son to the Khagan's daughter. The last detailed information about Byzantine affairs in the *Oriental chronicles* concerns the revolt of Artabasdos (741–2 and 743). Afterwards the interest shifts to the events in the Caliphate. The Byzantine source used by Dionysius of Tellmahre differs in many ways from what we find in Theophanes, which again points in the direction of several Byzantine sources, and not of a unique source excerpted by later chroniclers.

Some Muslim sources were used by the *Oriental chronicles* but, it would appear, not by Theophanes: thus for the capture of Cyprus (649–50), Dionysius of Tellmahre obviously used a narrative source written from the point of view of the Arabs (speeches, mention of the booty, names of the commanders) but transmitted by a Christian (interpretation of the event as punishment for the sin of the local clergy) that was not used by Theophanes.⁴⁶ The death of the last Sassanid shah (651–2) is not mentioned by Theophanes, whereas the *Oriental sources* devote to it a whole paragraph. A narrative source presenting events from the point of view of the Arabs was used by the *Oriental chronicles* also for the years 650–700: account of the assassination of Caliph 'Uthman, death of Yazid, and beginning of the second fitna (in great detail in the *Oriental chronicles*, in all likelihood from another source in Theophanes), Arab siege of Constantinople (the detailed account in the *Oriental chronicles* may come from a Syrian Muslim source).⁴⁷ Theophanes and the *Oriental chronicles* do not seem to have shared the same Arab-Muslim sources but to have excerpted different texts although they mention more or less the same events.

Information on the affairs of the Caliphate may have been transmitted by those Christians who held official positions in the caliphal administration and court: for the year 692, Theophanes reports 'Abd al-Malik's construction works in Mecca through the testimony of Sergius b. Mansur, i.e. the family of John Damascene, a Chalcedonian ("a good Christian") and the treasurer of the caliph, and relates that one of the Christian notables of Palestine suggested to the caliph that Sergius play the role of intermediary with the emperor Justinian II.⁴⁸ The episode involved Chalcedonians and does not appear in the *Oriental chronicles*. It shows nonetheless how contacts were still kept between the lost provinces and Constantinople thanks to the network of Christian dignitaries and prominent members of the communities. The case of Moses, a deacon of the (presumably Melkite) Church of Antioch and a physician of the caliph al-Mansur, further illustrates how information circulated within Christian milieus of the same confession.⁴⁹ We do not know how this information reached Theophanes; and again the Syriac and Syro-Arabic sources do not mention this episode.

40. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11, 112–13.

41. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11.

42. L. J. Conrad, *Chronographia*, p. 111.

43. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11, 112–13. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11, 112–13.

44. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 111.

45. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11, 112–13.

46. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11, 112–13. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 110–11, 112–13.

48. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, pp. 131–4.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 215, n. 595.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

51. Quoted by Constantin, *De l'histoire des Temps* (quoted n. 39), p. 11, from Theophanes, *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13, and M. Debié, *The Christians in the service of the caliph: through the looking glass of communal identities*, *Symposium on Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates*, June 1–18, 2011, ed. by F. Donner and A. Baum (Leiden/Boston, 2012), p. 134–46 for a study of the writing of history.

Other examples confirm that there existed a Melkite network of information. For the year 702–3, for instance, Theophanes had a Melkite source which transmitted to him news of the Chalcedonian patriarch of Anurad. He also had information about the Arab conquest of Palestine. People like John Damascene, who came from Damascus to the Melkite monastery of Palestine, may have transmitted this kind of information. Such members of mobile Christian families as well as monks fleeing the Palestinian persecutions (e.g. George Synkellos) were probable channels for the transmission of information. This was true also for the Syrian Orthodox networks between Edessa and Cyprus as we can see in Dionysius of Tellmahre's history. As has long been recognized, George probably played an important part in bringing information from Syria and Palestine to Constantinople, but the issue is to identify the extent of his contribution to Theophanes' material.

Thus Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles used both Byzantine and Arab-Muslim sources. They recognized them in different ways and often relied on altogether different sources for the same period. Here can we then make sense of the way the historical account unfolded and how the Theophilus' chronicle fit into the picture? All things considered, it seems possible that Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles had a Greek common source in Arabic and Arab affairs for the period up to 685, but then relied on different Byzantine and Arab-Muslim sources.

In 744, according to Agapius, Theophilus wrote about the events of which he was eyewitness, from the death of Walid II to the triumph of the Abbassids. The 744 is striking in that the material found only in Theophanes is concentrated in the period following the Abbassid conquest, which is precisely when we have clear evidence of Theophilus' activity. L. E. Good conceived a continuation of Theophilus until the 780's as a result of his discovery.⁵⁵ Indeed, from 744 onwards one notices a shift in the content of the sources. The Arab affairs are still present in Theophanes but are confined to basic information on movements, the parallel with the Oriental chronicles is weak. On the other hand, the proximity between Agapius and Dionysius of Tellmahre, especially through the Chronicle of 1234, becomes more prominent for the period of the year 744–745, 746, and 747—the capture of Damascus by the Abbassids. The fact parallel with Theophilus' account is a statement of the same events from different angles, that is the case of the death of Walid II. Theophanes has information about the night of the 14th of April, 744, when Agapius and the Chronicle of 1234 are interested in the event in Damascus, probably following Theophilus who accompanied the caliph there; the murder of Ibn al-Hakam, the deposition of the wife of Ash'ar, and the marriage of the Caliph's son with only by Agapius and the Chronicle of 1234. In 750–1, the revolt against the Abbassids in Syria and Mesopotamia is again told only in these two texts, while Theophanes has the revolt of Qasbi in Syria. In 754, the council of Hieron is mentioned by Theophanes and the Chronicle of 1234, from different perspectives. For the death of Abu al-Muhallab, Theophanes' information is detailed but differs markedly

although without contradiction, from that found in the Oriental chronicles.⁵⁶ The source used by Dionysius and Agapius stops with Abu Ja'far al-Manzur but parallels between Agapius and Michael the Great continue until 767. All in all, Theophanes seems to have had an important amount of information on Arab affairs from a source other than those used in the Oriental chronicles.⁵⁷

Now, part of the material for this later period can quite safely be attributed to Theophilus for the year 745, for instance, Theophanes and Michael the Great mention the election of the new Chalcedonian patriarch of Anurad.⁵⁸ Only Dionysius (as preserved in Michael the Syrian), however, says that the new patriarch obtained an edict from the caliph Marwan and an army to persecute the Maronites, a detail which is very likely to come from the chronicle of Theophilus who, according to Barhebraeus, was a Maronite. Theophanes does not say a word about that. He and Dionysius obviously do not share the same source, since the patriarch is said to come from Edessa by the former and from Marwan by the latter (in Michael), who adds that he was the son of Qasbi and the nephew of Marwan, information which, again, comes from a source close to the caliph. The piece of information shows that Theophanes and Michael did not use the same source and that Michael is more likely to have preserved information that ultimately comes from Theophilus, such as detailed mentions of natural phenomena in relation to the planets or once the Milky Way. Such interest in astronomy is unique in the chronicles that normally give only scant details about the shape of the moon or comets. It is, however, not surprising for an astrologer such as Theophilus—who may be the ultimate source for this. It should be noted that only Michael the Great kept this detail.⁵⁹ In all likelihood, such descriptions were borrowed from Theophilus by Dionysius of Tellmahre and transmitted to Michael the Syrian. They do not support, however, the idea of a transmission of Theophilus' material to Theophanes. Other passages can be attributed to Theophilus with some degree of confidence, such as the events taking place in Khurasan (the geographical description of the region, of Jurjan (in Agapius) and Tabaristan (in Michael the Syrian) where Theophilus is known to have accompanied the caliph in ca. 768 and 758 respectively.⁶⁰ Again, these elements are absent from Theophanes' chronicle. Consequently, it is likely that Theophanes had access to another source of information than Theophilus and his continuation.

⁵⁵ Goodwin, *Theophilus*, p. 294, n. 204.

⁵⁶ See the list in M. Constantinides, *Palestina, Siria, Costantinopoli: la "Cronografia" di Ippolito Constantino e la mezzogiorno fertile della storiografia nel "secolo d'oro" di Bisanzio*, dissertation, Istituto italiano di Scienze umane 2011, pp. 235 f.

⁵⁷ Hornsby, *Theophilus*, pp. 257 f.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 303, where a comet is located in relation to the stars and the constellation Aries. The comet is found in the Sun in Aries when the Sun is in Taurus. The chronicle of Michael the Great has some similar astronomical considerations: in 745 a comet is located in relation to the Milky Way which was mentioned in the other Greek or Syriac chronicles (*Ibid.*, p. 254). Other comets are mentioned in some other astronomical positions such as "the comet" (*Ibid.*, pp. 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

⁵⁹ Hornsby, *Theophilus*, pp. 302 f.

⁶⁰ Constantinides, *Theophilus*, p. 294, n. 204.

⁶¹ Constantinides, *Theophilus*, p. 294, n. 204.

⁶² Constantinides, *Theophilus*, p. 294, n. 204.

The study of the passages in the 740's that probably stem from Theophilus' chronicle shows that Theophanes did not use this work for that period. That should induce us to be more cautious also in the identification of his sources for earlier times. It is far from certain that Theophilus composed a Syriac chronicle using Byzantine and Arab sources and encompassing several centuries. It is improbable that Greek sources underwent a double translation process, from Greek to Syriac and then from Syriac to Greek. A narrative history containing information about the events in the Near East and written in Greek is the probable source of both Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles for the reigns of Heraclius and Constans II. It is, however, difficult to explain the divergence in the material on both Byzantine and Arab affairs after the 680's, when this source stops. It seems that each chronicler excerpted and rearranged several sources of different kinds: some annalistic, others narrative and did not take the information from an all-encompassing common source. Even when they appear to have used a common Byzantine source, they all made additions to the shared material, abbreviated it in different ways, or combined it with various sources. That should warn us against imagining an all too simple and unique way of transmission of the historical material which seems to have been more varied than generally assumed. Chroniclers were above all workers weaving from all sorts of material the web of their own construction.

THEOPHILOS, "THE MORE LIKELY CANDIDATE"? TOWARDS A REAPPRAISAL OF THE QUESTION OF THEOPHANES' "ORIENTAL SOURCE(S)"

by MARIA CONTERNO

In 1906, Edward W. Brooks was the first to mention Theophilus of Edessa, the Christian court astrologer of the caliph al-Mahdi, as the possible "Oriental source" of Theophanes Confessor's *Chronographia*: "To sum up, Michael [the Syrian] used Dionysius [of Tell Mahre] (843–6), and Theophanes used a Palestinian Melkite author who wrote in Greek not long after 780; while both of these last used a chronicler who wrote not long after 746, whom there is some reason to identify with John the son of Samuel, though we cannot positively assert that he was not Theophilus of Edessa."¹ Brooks considered John the son of Samuel to be the most likely author of the source whence the material shared by Theophanes and Michael the Syrian was supposed to come. In 1990, Lawrence Conrad opted with firm conviction for Theophilus: "Brooks suggested that the author was either a certain John, son of Samuel, about whom practically nothing is known, or less likely, Theophilus of Edessa, the Maronite historian and Syriac translator of Homer. In light of evidence in the *Kitāb al-'unwān* of Agapius (d. ca. 950), still unpublished when Brooks wrote, it now appears that Theophilus is the more likely candidate."²

The starting point of Conrad's study was the discovery of materials of clear Islamic origin within Theophanes' *Chronographia*. We know of no Greek historical text which could have transmitted to Theophanes such Islamic materials, but for the 7th century the *Chronographia* shares a large amount of information with the chronicle of Michael the Syrian, the *Chronicle of 1234* and the Christian-Arabic chronicle of Agapius of Mabbug. On this basis, Conrad drew the conclusion that Theophanes had access to the Islamic materials via the Greek version of a Syriac history known to the other three texts as well.

1. E. W. BROOKS, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles, *BZ* 15, 1906, pp. 578–87, at 587. On Theophilus' life and works see now *Christian-Muslim relations: a bibliography* (Leiden, 1990), 1 (600–900), ed. by D. Thomas and B. Roggema, Leiden – Boston 2003, pp. 365–8.

2. L. I. CONRAD, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of (re)calculated transmission, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990, pp. 1–44, at 43.

It is finally Agapius' explicit mention of Theophilos as one of his sources that led Conrad to identify this "Syriac common source" with the latter's lost historical work, supposedly written around 750. Two years later, Conrad produced a more detailed analysis of the links between the texts involved, through the comparative study of a single episode (the Muslim conquest of Arwad) in both the Christian and the Islamic traditions.⁹ In this methodological essay Conrad focussed more closely on a supposed Greek translation-continuation of Theophilos' historical work. He reached the conclusion that it was produced around 780 by a monk living most likely in the region of Hims, who not only took up Theophilos' narrative, but also supplemented it with information of his own. This reconstruction is effectively represented by a *stemma fontium*, which has often been referred to or reproduced later on.¹⁰

Conrad's hypothesis soon became influential. Thus, in the introduction to the English translation of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, Cyril Mango provisionally embraced it.¹¹ Accordingly, he distinguished the "eastern passages," that is to say the pieces of information that allegedly came from the Greek translation-continuation of Theophilos of Edessa, by having them printed with a different font, and this reconstruction is presented as plausible in the *Prolegomena* to the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, which contain a chapter about the "gemeinsame Vorlage" of Theophanes and the Syriac sources for the period 641–751.¹² Robert Hoyland went one step further and proposed a hypothetical reconstruction of the contents of the "Syriac common source," on the basis of the matching passages in Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, the *Chronicle of 1234*, and Agapius of Antioch.¹³ This reconstruction—recently followed by an English translation of all the relevant passages¹⁴—has been well received by both Islamists and Byzantinists, and referring to Theophilos of Edessa's lost historical work has become the canon and only constant way of alluding to the entire body of historical information under consideration.¹⁵ The large credit given to Conrad's theory is perhaps best reflected

in James Howard-Johnston's recent guide to the historical sources for the 7th century, in which Theophilos' chronicle takes a paramount place.¹⁶

In his most recent publication on the subject, Robert Hoyland has produced a nuanced picture of the relations between the four texts. For example, he takes into account the possibility that Theophilos relied on a Byzantine source (which he now calls the "eastern source"), and attaches due importance to the presence in the *Chronographia* of additional Oriental material, whose provenance is worth investigating. He asks thus: "Could, for example, the 'eastern source' have included Muslim as well as Byzantine material? In this case Theophilos would have done no more than add material on the third Arab civil war and the Abbasid revolution to a very full chronicle that covered Muslim and Byzantine politics up to ca. 743."¹⁷ Such an alternative picture echoes in fact the reconstruction proposed long ago by Paul Speck, according to whom Theophanes' Oriental source was nothing else than the *Dossier* put together in Palestine by George Synkellos, to which the Syriac chroniclers had access as well.¹⁸

As I will try to show, the quantity and quality of the problems that the Theophilos theory leaves open is such to require that we bring back into question the whole theory in itself. The aim of this paper is not to replace Theophilos with another candidate, "more likely" still, but to question the idea that the material of eastern origin to be found in the *Chronographia* derives from one "Syriac common source," or from its Greek translation-continuation for that matter. In particular, I will show that the Theophilos theory, in whatever form, does not adequately explain all the similarities and differences between Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the Syriac chronicles,¹⁹ nor the presence in the former of items of eastern origin that are not in the latter.

1. SYRIAC INTO GREEK OR GREEK INTO SYRIAC?

Looking carefully at the material shared by Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, Agapius, and the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of the year 1234*, one will soon notice that there are different degrees of resemblance. In some items, sentences are paralleled almost word for word, which definitely points to a common written source, whereas in other parts the relation is suggested only by the organization of the content. Elsewhere the correspondence is limited to the core of the information, different details are reported, and similarities are minimal, to the extent that the provenance from the same source cannot

9. L. I. Conrad, "The conquest of Arwad: a comparative study in the historiography of the early middle Ages East and West," in *The Byzantine and Arab World, 284–681*, ed. by A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Oxford, 1982), pp. 317–401.

10. L. Conrad, "The conquest of Arwad (continued)," p. 326. Cf. In., "The Arabs and the colossus of Arwad," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n. 2, 6, 1986, pp. 116–37, at 168; A. Borriani, "Entre tradition et histoire," *Journal de la Société de l'histoire de la France*, 11, 1985, p. 208; A. Borriani, "L'œuvre de Théophile d'Édessa," *Revue de l'histoire de la civilisation*, 11, 1985, p. 137; Hoyland, *Theophilos*, p. 337.

11. Mango, *Introduction*, pp. 10–11.

12. P. Speck, *Prolegomena*, pp. 26–28, 27–28. Speck also stated that Theophanes für den Zeitraum 751–780 eine gemeinsame Vorlage aus dem 8. J. hat, was zu dem 7. J. eine allein Ansehen hat, und dass Theophilos, Michael the Syrian, the *Chronicle of 1234* and Agapius of Antioch all draw from the same source, the Greek translation-continuation of Theophilos of Edessa's lost historical work.

13. Hoyland, *Theophilos*, pp. 337–338.

14. Hoyland, *Theophilos*.

15. See W. B. E. Perry, "The 'Syriac common source' of Theophanes' *Chronographia*," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Études de la Sorbonne*, 1988, pp. 1–11; H. Leppin and H. Schlange-Schöden, "The 'Syriac common source' of Theophanes' *Chronographia*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 103, 1983, pp. 33–41; Borriani, "Entre tradition

et histoire" (quoted n. 4), p. 349, coining the expression "circuit de Théophile d'Édessa"; In., *Entre monnaie et pouvoir* (quoted n. 4), p. 143 ff.

16. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 192–236, with my review, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 24, 2011, pp. 897–912.

17. Hoyland, *Theophilos*, p. 29 n. 90.

18. See P. Speck, *Das gefälschte Dossier: Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des kaiserlichen Heerführers und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Münster 1987), Bonn 1988, pp. 516–9. Cf. also A. Palmer, *The seventh century in West-Syrian chronicles* (Translated texts for historians 15), Liverpool 1993, p. 95.

19. I.e. Michael the Syrian's chronicle, the *Chronicle of the Year 1234* and Agapius' *Chronicle* (written in Arabic by a Syrian Melkite author).

1234), however, suggests that the original version of this account was written in Greek, even if it does not involve any Greek loanword. Umar expressed the will to build a mosque on the place where Solomon's Temple once stood. The anonymous chronicler

() and he ordered a mosque, namely a house of prayer for the Arabs, to be built in the place of Solomon's Temple.

The gloss on the word "mosque" looks suspect. The Syriac root *s-g-d* (ܣܓܕ), meaning literally "to bow down," is the same Semitic root on which the Arabic *masjid* (مسجد) is built, and it was already linked to cult and worship in pre-Islamic times. The expression used to clarify it, *kyro staba* (ܟܝܪܐ ܨܬܒܐ), is based on a root, *s-l-* (ܨܠܐ), that has exactly the same literal meaning. Was it really necessary to explain to a Syriac reader the meaning of the word *mosque* (ܡܫܚܕܐ)? It is more probable that such a tautology is the word-for-word translation of a Greek text written in a period when the meaning of "mosque" was still obscure to the intended reader. The Greek term *μωσχιδῆς* is, in fact, first attested in papyri dated to the beginning of the 7th century, whereas *μωσχιδιον* first appears in Photius.¹⁰ Although Theophanes does not provide himself the original version, the corresponding sentence in the *Chronographia* contains an interesting word-

την γυναικα ζήτησε την βοήθειάν, δι' αποδομήσε Σολομίων, προσκυνητήριον αὐτόν
παύσαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Βλασφημίας.

He changed the temple of the Jews, the one that Solomon built, in order to make of it a place of devotion for his blasphemous religion.

The neologism *synagoga* literally means "a place where people kneel down (in worship)" and tallies etymologically with both the Syriac terms *maggetto* (ܡܚܓܬܐ) and *beith magda* (ܒܝܬ ܡܓܕܐ) and with the Arabic *magjid* (مَجِيد). This probably was itself an explanatory word created *ex novo* in order to clarify the meaning of a term for mosque, which is actually not preserved by Theophanes but might have been in the common (Coptic) usage.

The account of Andrew's embassy at Mu'awiyah's court¹⁰ is particularly rich in Greek loanwords. Both Andrew, the imperial *koumboularou*, and Sergios, the ambassador of the serial Saboteur Sabourios, try to win the caliph to their side. Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234* say that the caliph has the rebel's man enter first, out of scorn for the emperor.

ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਕਾਲਜ ਲਾਹੌਰ

influence by Phoenician. This combined form was taken from its Semitic root and a Semitic word, *shahādah* (witness, record). Both the Greek *shahādah* and Arabic call the caliph's charter of appointment *shahādah* (witness) and still show evidence of their later origin: 542 the Greek inscription (see above, p. 113).

1. . . . and Adunias ordered that Sergios entered first, one of ἀντιπαύσιος (ἀντιπαύσιος) for Christians

Remarkably, to the Greek loanword *antipatōō* corresponds the opposite idea in Theophrastus, expressed by the verb *συμπαθεῖν*:

καταλαβὼν δὲ Ἀνδρέας τὴν Λαμασκὸν εὐρεὶ Σέργιον προλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ Μανίας
ἀπεκρίνετο συμπθεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἦν δὲ Σέργιος καθήμενος πρὸς Μανιάν

When he arrived at Damascus, Andrew saw that Sergios had anticipated him, but Mānāwya presented to sympathize with the emperor. Sergios, then, was united by Mānāwya [...]

Andreas Kaplony²¹ has rightly pointed out that here the Syriac authors simply offer a distorted and simplified version of what is found in Theophanes. Sergios entered first because he had arrived first, but Mu'āwīya pretended to show favour to Andrew, probably to raise the ante with the rebel. Such a subtle psychological manoeuvre is implicit in Theophanes' words, but has gone lost in the Syriac version. To the Syriac translator, the caliph's feigned sympathy toward the emperor must have sounded inconsistent with the fact that the rebel's envoy had been admitted the first—itsself rather a sign of disdain for the emperor—hence sympathy turning into "antipathy." The misunderstanding of an original Greek text is betrayed also by the contradiction that this change has produced in the Syriac version. Both Syriac chronicles tell, just like Theophanes, that Sergios had arrived first and had already been admitted into Mu'āwīya's presence when Andrew reached the court, but then they say that the caliph made the rebel's man enter before the emperor's ambassador because of his antipathy for Constans, as if they were both there and one had been let in before the other. The original account was transcribed accurately by Theophanes, but the Syriac translator failed to catch all its nuances.

An even more significant trace of the Greek underlying text is to be found in the final altercation between Sergios and Andrew. On this occasion, the former insults the latter for being a eunuch. Andrew reproaches Sergios for not standing up in front of him, and Sergios mocks him for his "hybrid" nature. In the *Chronicle of 1234*, Sergios' reply contains a rare Greek loanword, in fact a transliteration rather than a proper loanword:

[illegible]

Then Sergios replied harshly to him, scoffing at him and insulting him, and he called him effeminate, neither man nor woman and not even *ādātārius*, that is "either of the two."

Although Theophanes and Michael the Syrian report an abridged version of Sergius' words, which does not contain the negative pronoun οὐδέτερος,¹⁴ this longer and more rhetorical version is likely to be the original one, and to come from a Greek source. Robert Hoyland observes: "Another example of use of Greek, which reflects either that

31. A. KARCOVY, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus. Geographien und Verträge zwischen Kaukasus und Kleinasien 639-750* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 208), Berlin 1992, p. 51 ff.

³¹ *Chem. Abstr.*, p. 282,27-286,20.

³³ Theoph., col. 6159, p. 348, 29-350, 27, part. p. 349, 21 εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ οὐδὲ γυνή; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 435: καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ οὐδὲ γυνή; καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν.

1.2 A Greek source for the 7th century

Bosworth and Hayland agree that much of the evidence that I presented above reveals an underlying Greek source, but they rather think that this was one of the sources used by Theophanes. My first objection is that if a Greek source for the 7th century was at play, Theophanes could have used it as well. Although it is possible that Theophilos used this Greek source and that it reached the Syriac chronicles through his work, it is far more probable that Theophanes had independent access to it. The hypothesis of a Greek text first translated into Syriac and then retranslated into Greek, without any trace of this double translation being revealed in the final Greek text, is not only very complicated. We have seen that the translation from Greek into Syriac has left signs in the Syriac text,⁴² but nothing at all in Theophanes' Greek text allows to imply that it was translated from Syriac. There are further and decisive examples of this.

We are told that Constantine's murderer was Andrew, son of Truilos. In Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234*, the unusual name Τρούϊλος is transcribed as *Trūlia* (ܬܪܘܠܝܐ).⁴³ Now, how could the Greek translator of Theophilos guess the correct original form of such a poorly attested name? The *ParhZ*, in fact, records only two Truilos.⁴⁴ In the episode of Andrew the *koubikoularios*, Theophanes lends Saborios the surname *Periogetēs* (Περσογενής), meaning "of Persian origin." Among the Syriac chronicles only Michael gives a surname for Saborios/Sabur, namely *Apristgn* (ܐܦܪܝܨܬܓܢ), in which Bosworth has already recognized a garbled transcription of Περσογενής.⁴⁵ A Greek translator of Theophilos could never correctly gather *Periogetēs* from *Apristgn*. Even supposing that the name had been transcribed better by Theophilos and was later misunderstood or miscopied by Michael (or Dionysios), the epithet itself is rare⁴⁶ and it is far more plausible that Theophanes got it in its correct form from a Greek text rather than from a Syriac one.⁴⁷

Furthermore, in his "Byzantine" items Theophanes gives sometimes additional details that are missing in the Syriac texts. In the story just mentioned of Andrew the *koubikoularios*, Theophanes reports a full additional episode after the death of the rebel Saborios, the *Andronikeus* the wife of Amantios but Andrew succeeds in ousting them by climbing the city walls with just a few men in midwinter. Elsewhere Theophanes adds only small but very precise details. In the episode of Constantine's death, he mentions the name of the public bath where the emperor was killed, "Dafne."⁴⁸ Speaking of Kyros' agreement with the Arabs, he says that Herakleios replaced Kyros with the Armenian general Manuel, sending him to Egypt as *eparchos*.⁴⁹ *Archē* is *profectus argentiarius*, a title for the governor

of the Egyptian province. A similar agreement to avoid Arab invasion was made by John, the governor of Oschoene, and he too was dismissed by the emperor. The episode is rather short, but here too the correspondence between the *Chronographia* and the Syriac chronicles is almost literal.⁵⁰ Theophanes, however, adds the surname of John, "Katalas," and the precise military rank of Ptolemy, the man sent by Herakleios to replace him, namely *stratelatēs*. In the account of the conquest of Arwad he specifies the name and rank of the man sent against Mu'awiya, the *koubikoularios* Kakorizos. These are all pure Byzantine elements that could understandably disappear in the transmission from Greek to Syriac. But to stick to the "Theophilos theory" we are forced to think that all of them were faithfully reported in Syriac by Theophilos, then retranslated into Greek by the translator-continuator but dropped by both Agapius and Dionysios of Tellmahre. Or we have to list them among the pieces of information inserted by the Greek translator in Theophilos work.

If too many questions remain open, a number of them are answered if we think that part of the material shared by Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles (and actually the most extensive narratives, which show the highest degree of word-for-word correspondence) comes from a Greek source, which might have been used by Theophilos as well (or even by Dionysios of Tellmahre), but to which Theophanes had access either directly or via another Greek, not Syriac, intermediate source.

2. MORE THAN ONE "ORIENTAL SOURCE"?

The arguments above should already invite greater caution when talking about Theophilos as the "Oriental source" of the *Chronographia*. In the following I will show that even among the purely Oriental material in Theophanes—i.e. sections not directly concerned with Byzantium—there are items that cannot possibly come from Theophilos and for which an Oriental source other than Theophilos must be envisaged.

2.1. The life of Muhammad

As I said at the outset, the four chronicles include sometimes very different accounts of the same events, for which it is difficult to imagine a common source. The first significant mismatch between the *Chronographia* and the other three chronicles concerns Muhammad's life and the rise of Islam. Theophanes' account differs in structure and contents from Agapius and the two Syriac chronicles, and even the latter two do not exactly tally.

To begin with, Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234* report very similar versions, probably reproducing what existed in Dionysios of Tellmahre. They pay almost no attention to the Prophet's family. In Theophanes the birth of the new religion is instead closely linked to Muhammad's private life, since the latter is said to have made up the apparitions of the archangel Gabriel in order to explain to his wife epileptic fits, of which he was ashamed. According to Theophanes, then, Muhammad's wife had a fundamental role in the birth of Islam, since she spread the voice of his husband's prophetic gift and

⁴² I am suggesting that the translation was not probably bilingual, by the way.

⁴³ Theoph. *am* 6128, p. 257, 50; Mich. Syr. IV, p. 420; *Chron.* 1234, p. 287-9.

⁴⁴ *ParhZ*, 437-447.

⁴⁵ J. B. Paret, "The Syrian version of Constantine IX, *BZ* 12, 1908, pp. 455-9.

⁴⁶ In the TLG database a search only has one result: Theophanes.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bosworth, *Constantine, Emperor*, 82-5, 123, pp. 449-59, interpreted *Apristgn* as the

transcription of a Persian word meaning "son of Persian origin" and has therefore postulated a Persian, not Syriac, source for Michael (or Theophilos). This interpretation, however, besides its other

⁴⁸ Theoph. *am* 6128, p. 257, 13.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* *am* 6128, p. 264, 27.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* *am* 6128, p. 340, 1-10; Mich. Syr. IV, p. 420; *Chron.* 1234, p. 256, 3-16; Agap., pp. 4-6 f.

gathered the first followers. Theophanes makes no reference to Muhammad's previous association with Christian and Jewish doctrines, instead the Syriac chronicles present his apostasy as the fruit of a sincere conversion to monotheism and blame the greedy people of his tribe for turning his religious proselytism into a rapacious conquest movement. The only point at which the two versions overlap is their description of the Islamic paradise, which presents the same main features: rivers of milk and honey, meat, wine and beautiful women. Here as well, though, different aspects are stressed: Theophanes emphasises the lust, whereas the Syriac chronicles the luxury. The two accounts can hardly be complementary parts of a same longer version, because they offer two opposing pictures of Muhammad. In the *Chronographia* he appears as a mean opportunist epileptic who, in order to avoid his wife's rage and contempt, ends up founding a new religion almost accidentally; in the Syriac chronicles he is portrayed as a good man who tries to bring the light of the true religion to his people, but then succumbs to their covetousness. There is no sufficient overlap here to presume that the same material has been ideologically reshaped in opposite ways.

Agapius gives no information about the Prophet's life. His account focuses instead on his proselytism and the conversion—voluntary or forced—of neighbouring peoples. The final list of Muhammad's teachings tallies with the one in Michael the Syrian and the anonymous chronicles, which led Hoyland to believe that Agapius probably took part of his information on Muhammad from Theophilos.⁵⁴

On the one hand, the anecdotal and detractive character of Theophanes' account and the vague knowledge of Islam displayed therein suggests that this was produced in Byzantine circles on the basis of hearsay and rumours. On the other, as Lawrence Conrad has convincingly demonstrated,⁵⁵ Theophanes also has very precise information of surely Islamic origin that could hardly have spread outside the Arab world: the configuration of Arab tribes, the Prophet's genealogy, and the chronology of his life. Some more items can be added to this list. According to Theophanes, it was a Christian monk who first acknowledged the prophetic nature of Muhammad's visions: the monk's story appears, with variations, in many Arabic tales about the Prophet's life and its earliest attestation in Christian sources is precisely in Theophanes.⁵⁶ Now, in the *Chronographia*, the monk is the confidant of Muhammad's wife. Willing to please her, he confirms that her husband was given a divine gift. It is following this reassurance that Khadija becomes the first Muslim believer and spreads the word among the women of her tribe, who then persuade their husbands. This initial propagation through womanly murmur is presented of course as favourable for Islam by Theophanes, but the fact is confirmed by the *Sīra*, where we

read that Khadija's support, both material and psychological, was instrumental in the early stage of the revelation and helped Muhammad to take on his mission.⁵⁷

Hoyland suggests that Agapius, Michael and the anonymous chronicler preserve a core deriving from Theophilos, whereas Theophanes uses a totally different source.⁵⁸ In fact, the hostile veneer of the Byzantine account veils material of Islamic origin accessed more directly by Theophanes, which simply does not find any match in the Syriac chronicles.

3.2. The Abbasid revolution

The second example of purely Oriental material in Theophanes is even more significant. It is in fact a long piece concerning the balance of power inside the caliphate and the only case in which we are absolutely certain that the Syriac chronicles depend on Theophilos. Agapius says so explicitly: "Theophilos the Astrologer, from whom we took these accounts, said: 'I myself was all the time an eye witness to these wars and I would write things down lest any of them escape me.' To him [we owe] many books (كتب - *kutub*) about that, but we have abridged this book (كتاب - *kitāb*) out of them and we have added to it what we knew that could not be left out, and we have avoided prolixity."⁵⁹ In this context the word *kitāb* is likely to mean "book chapters" rather than "full books." Therefore Agapius is saying that Theophilos dedicated many chapters (of his work) to the Abbasid revolution and that he has drawn from them this particular chapter of his chronicle. Since the account of the *Chronicle of 1234* is almost identical to Agapius',⁶⁰ we can be sure that they ultimately derive from the same source, and that this source was Theophilos. On the contrary, reading Theophanes one has the clear impression of reading a different version of the story. Theophilos' account is detailed: he mentions personal names (both on the Abbasid and the Marwanid side) and toponyms, he describes movements, communications, meetings and war engagements. Theophanes' version has a simpler plot, but cannot be a summary of Theophilos' and for one main reason: it not only reports the same events in a different way, but also contains a considerable amount of details which are either absent in both Agapius and the *Chronicle of 1234*, or markedly different from the corresponding ones found there.⁶¹ This will become evident by looking at the outline of the initial phase of the rebellion in the three texts:

- Theophanes: a group called the "Chorasanite Maurophoroi" rises up against Marwan in eastern Persia; the "sons of Echim and Alim," descendants of the Prophet who were living in Lesser Arabia, gather around Ibrahim; a man named Abū Muslim

54. For the sources and the secondary literature see *EP*, IV, p. 898 f., s.v. Khadija; *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, 3, Leiden 2003, p. 80 f.

55. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam*, p. 404; HOYLAND, *Theophilos*, pp. 86 n. 149, 87 n. 154. Cf. S. J. SHOULMAKER, *The death of a prophet: the end of Muhammad's life and the beginnings of Islam*, Philadelphia 2012, pp. 47–52.

56. Agap., p. 525.

57. *Chron.*, 1234, p. 323.9–325.17 and 339.13–31; Agap., pp. 521–9 and 273–6. Mich. Syr., IV pp. 417 and 472 f., is succinct and confused.

58. Cf. also HOYLAND, *Theophilos*, p. 265 n. 790, observing that: "After this notice [Theophanes] charges substantially from TC, both omitting material found in TC and adding material not found in TC. Theophanes either has access to an additional source or is doing a continuation of TC but of the 'eastern source' (...) that adduces additional material."

59. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 88 A, 146.

60. Conrad, *Theophanes*, p. 100 n. 11, 101.

61. See N. CONRAD, *The legend of Khadija: female sources of the Christ and Islamism*, in *La Syrie de l'antiquité à l'islam: un art de vivre, une civilisation méditerranéenne. Mélanges de l'Orient méditerranéen. Série études de monde grec. T. 15* (septembre 1999) publiée par J. Camber et J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Paris 1992, pp. 47–75. A somewhat more detailed and more recent history: reflections on a Syriac and Arabic text from early Islamic times, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 19, 1997, pp. 146–74, reprint in *Islamic Studies in the early Islamic period*, ed. by J. J. G. van den Berg, Leiden 2007, pp. 146–74.

wordings for the "and of" is translated in Syriac but is preserved in Arabic, where the word used is written as it sounds in Arabic: Abdallah ibn Ali (عبد الله بن علي), where the Arabic for Ali (علي) is *ʿAlī* in Syriac, but is "Abdallāh in *Thophphāz*;" Yaxid (يخيد) becomes Yaxid but Hūbayrā (هوبيرا) becomes "Yaxid but Hūbayrā (*Thophphāz*);" Yaxid but Hūbayrā is "*Thophphāz*;" In the *Mūsā* (موسى) is *Yaxid but Hūbayrā* in Syriac. *Thophphāz* is mentioned by Michael the Syrian and by the *Chronicle of 1234*, but is mentioned as the *Mūsā* (موسى) in Elias of Nisibis.

Therapane and Rhymer again describe the murder in few words, while Michael and the anonymous chronicler describe at length the caliph's obdurate persistence in his original decision: the unexpected protest of the people of Yashrib, his demand for help from his sons against the crying mob and the late arrival of the army sent to back him up. The few words of information provided by Therapane match this longer account

and might ultimately derive from it, whereas the same cannot be said of Michael about Agapius' version. The latter says that Uthmān was killed by the people of the great Iraq and gives the date of the event according to the Islamic calendar (the 19th of ḥiḥ 1-Qaḍal). But the four accounts differ even more in the following part. Michael the Syrian refers briefly to two skirmishes between Ali's and Mu'awiya's armies, with losses on both sides, specifying that in the first one Mu'awiya left without confronting Ali directly. Immediately after that he places Ali's assassination and relates the Islamic anecdote of the three zealous men who try to cease hostilities by killing the conspirators. Theophanes mentions just one engagement and places it at Barbalissos, that is Hierakon, on the Euphrates. He says, though, that since Mu'awiya succeeded in cutting off Ali's camp from water supply, he actually won the battle without fighting, because Ali's men deserted, worn out by thirst. The location, Barbalissos, is close to Siffin and the episode is to be set in the context of the well-known battle that took place there. The death of the water supply failure is reported by al-Tabari in relation to that very battle, but we do not find it in the Syriac chronicles, nor in Agapius. In Theophanes, as in Michael, Ali's assassination follows immediately, but in the former the account includes one additional (and inaccurate) piece of information: the murder is said to happen while the Acabi are bathing at Sapphina, that is Siffin.

Agapius' version is the most isolated one, yet also the relation of Theophanes' version to Michael and the anonymous chronicler's is hard to establish, since it is at the same time more concise and more detailed, if inaccurate. One is of course entitled to believe that corrections and elaborations go back to the translator of the shared source, namely that Theophanes simply reported what he found in the translation-continuation of Theophanes. But is a translator who interferes so heavily with his model actually a translator?

As I mentioned above, Conrad spoke of a translator-continuator-reviser of Theophile's work, who added to the text he was translating pieces of information he got from elsewhere. But what if we pictured this same character simply as an author who was using different sources and selecting his material to his liking?

But should there, my aim is not to replace Theophilus with another Greek source. In this paper I have not proposed an exhaustive re-examination of all the Oriental material within the *Chronographia*, nor have I attempted an alternative reconstruction that would be the textual envelope better than the "Theophilus theory."²⁴ I have only focused on the items that show most clearly why this theory cannot be considered a definitive and satisfactory solution. To sum up: (a) the passages of the *Chronographia* that display the highest degree of word-for-word correspondence with the Syriac chronicles do not come from Theophilus' work, but rather from a Greek-Byzantine source that Theophilus might have used as well; (b) some significant items of Oriental origin do not come from Theophilus but from a Greek-Oriental source directly in contact with the Arabic-speaking milieu; (c) a substantial portion of the material in Theophanes that has so far been attributed to Theophilus' cannot come from the latter's work, although it may have been available to some form of Theophilus as well. If further work needs to be done before a new general scenario can be constructed, it is clear that any attempt at disentangling the network of "intercultural transmission" shall proceed from different basic assumptions.

On the one hand, Greek historiography was not completely silent during the 7th century. There was at least one source which related—in Greek and from a Byzantine point of view—the main events of the warfare between the empire and the caliphate. This was the *Theophanes* without going through Syriac. On the other, scholars must be open to the idea that parts of the material relating to the caliphate in the *Chronographia* came from Arabic (Arabic or ʿArabi) sources again without any Syriac go-between. Such early transmission of historiographical information from Arabic into Greek deserves attention from both Byzantine and Islamicists, since it brings testimony to the embryonic stage of Islamic historiography and to the mutual influence between it and other, pre-existing forms of historiographical record.

At the end, the first step toward a new assessment of the question is to stop tracing back all of Theophanes' Oriental material to the alleged Greek translation-continuation of Theophilus' work, and start rather to think of Theophilus just as one of the possible sources of Theophanes' Oriental material. Putting Theophilus' role into perspective is also the first step towards a full appreciation of the evidence of cultural activity in the Syriac, Greek and Arabic-speaking milieux of Syria-Palestine during the 7th-8th centuries. In such context of "intercultural transmission."

BEFORE THE EASTERN SOURCE: THEOPHANES AND THE LATE SYRIAC ORTHODOX CHRONICLES, 4th-6th CENTURIES

by Andy HUKINS

It is no secret that there are many points of contact between the contents of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes and several Syriac historical texts, most notably the *Chronicle of Thomas the Priest* (c. 636), the *Chronicle of Michael the Great*, and the *Chronicle of 1234*. Recent scholarly research has tended to focus on agreements between Theophanes and the chronicles of the Syriac Renaissance (1026-1316) for their description of the late sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. These have controversially been attributed to the lost writings of Theophilus of Edessa, to be identified with Theophanes' "eastern source" or a close intermediary.¹

There are, however, many agreements between Theophanes and the same Syriac chronicles in material pertaining to Romano-Byzantine affairs before the "eastern source," i.e. between 310/311 and c. 582.² Warren Treadgold's recent discussion of Theophanes and his sources is marked by the view that Theophilus of Edessa wrote a chronicle from Constantine or the Creation until his own day, and that this text was responsible for a large amount of information in Theophanes' *Chronographia* from the fourth until the eighth century.³

This paper offers a new perspective on the material for the period until 582 (and perhaps even afterwards) especially in the light of the overlooked conclusions of the late Günther Christian Hansen as to the relation between Theophanes and the later Syriac

1. See HUKINS, *Theophilus*, and the contributions by the same author, M. Dezel and M. CONFORTO in this volume.

2. Dionysius of Telmahre started his *History* with 582 and his work is believed to have been the intermediary between Theophilus and Michael the Syrian (*Chronicle of 1234*). The first noted agreement between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles (and Agapius) that is attributed to Theophilus, however, is the death of the Persian king Hormizd in 590.

3. TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 55 f., 68-75. See also S. McDONOUGH, A second Constantine? The Sassanian king Yazdgerd in Christian history and historiography, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1, 1, 2008, pp. 127-40 and HUKINS, *Theophilus*. The view of Theophilus' historical work in a (universal) chronicle is criticized, for example, by A. Papaioannidou's review of HUKINS, *Theophilus* in *Le Muséon* 126, 2013, pp. 459-65.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & E. Montanari (Leuven & Münster: Peeters, 2013), pp. 201-11.

to Philostorgius, but there are still many question marks surrounding the afterlife of Theophanes' *Chronographia* in Greek.²⁶

OTHER PARALLELS

Many other parallels exist between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles for the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. This includes material from the *Breviary* of John Malalas (c. 505), on which the *Paschal chronicle*,²⁷ Theophanes,²⁸ and the Syriac chronicles are independently reliant, the latter through John of Ephesus.²⁹ Most of the time, however, the common source for these parallels between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles cannot be identified, even in instances where the ultimate source (e.g. Socrates and Priscus of Panium) is known. I will finish this paper with a provisional catalogue of the material shared by Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles for which the common source cannot be identified, in order to paint a clear picture of the extent of parallels between these texts:

Subject	Theoph.	Mich. Syr.	<i>Chron.</i> 1234
Constantine's construction of churches and anti-pagan legislation	AM 5819, p. 16.12–24; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 27	VII, 7, p. 123; transl., I, p. 240	I, p. 140.29–141.1; transl., p. 112.1–4

Cf. Alexander Monachus, PG 87, c. 4057D; M. Guidi, Un bios di Costantino, *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 16, 1907, pp. 304–40, 637–62, at pp. 332.22–333.4. On the relationship between Theophanes, Alexander the Monk's *On the finding of the Cross* and the work of ninth-century *Life of Constantine*, ed. by Guidi, see Burgess, *Studies* (quoted n. 8), p. 203; A. P. Karavas, "Constantine imago aurea": Byzantine legends of the ninth century about Constantine the Great, *Byz.* 57, 1957, pp. 194–250, at pp. 201 and 221; SCOTT, The image of Constantine (quoted n. 28), p. 67 n. 26; F. V. Kozlarskaya, Die vormetaphrastischen griechischen hagiographischen Vitae Constantini Magni, in: *Acta et Scripta congressus internationalis studiorum byzantinorum*, Beograd 1964, vol. 2, pp. 405–14, at pp. 408–10; MANGO – SCOTT, p. xxvii. None of these authors, however, acknowledged the presence of the material in the later Syriac chronicles.

²⁶ On this issue, see also F. Montanari's contribution to this volume.

²⁷ E.g. F. C. Conybeare, The relation of the *Paschal chronicle* to Malalas, *BZ* 11, 1902, pp. 199–207.

²⁸ E.g. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 1000; and B. SCOTT, The image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes, in *New Constantine: the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th centuries*, ed. by P. Magdalino, Aldershot 1990, pp. 57–71, esp. in fn., *Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century* (transmitted studies series), Leamington 2002, n. 5V.

²⁹ On John's use of Malalas, see W. K. Kozlarskaya, Malalas in Syriac, in *Studies on John Malalas*, ed. by C. Kilianowski & C. Lewis and R. Scott (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990, pp. 299–310, and Conybeare, *John of Ephesus* (quoted n. 11). Appendix B. On Malalas' influence on Syriac historians in general, see M. Dwyer, Les Malalas et la tradition chronographique de langue syriaque, in *Recherches sur la chronographie de langue syriaque*, ed. by P. Dussan (MCM 13), Paris 2004, pp. 147–64. In addition, Malalas' influence on Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle*, predominantly pertaining to the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus, through his unacknowledged Syriac *Chronicle*, who was writing between 565 and 630 (quoting John of Ephesus, in A. H. M. Jones, *Syria: Prosopographia*; the fall of Troy in *Syriac chronographs*, *Leiden* 1986, pp. 283–307), is also noted.

Subject	Theoph.	Mich. Syr.	<i>Chron.</i> 1234
Constantine and Licinius ³⁰	AM 5810–1, 5815, pp. 16.2f–8 and 30–32.2, 19.25–20.5; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 27 f. and 33	(i)	I, p. 140.1 f. and 9–11.2 f. 33
A crown and courage for Hirkon ³¹	AM 5816, p. 23.17–8; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 37	(ii)	I, p. 140.26–27; transl., p. 115.1–3
Proclamation of Julian Caesar and marriage to Helen/Constantia ³²	AM 5849, p. 45.5–9; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 73	VII, 5, pp. 127 f.; transl., I, p. 208	I, p. 154.25–31; transl., p. 122.16–22
The martyrdom of Dorotheus of Tyre during the reign of Julian	AM 5854, pp. 48–9; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 78 f.	VII, 6, p. 146; transl., I, p. 209	(i)
The cross appears in the sky and on the clothes of Jews and Christians	AM 5855, p. 52.10–9; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 82	VII, 6, p. 146; transl., I, pp. 208 f.	(i)
Proclamation of Cicerian Augustus and consul	AM 5857, p. 55.1–5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 85	VII, 7, pp. 148 f.; transl., I, p. 292	I, p. 160.27–8; transl., p. 132.6–7
The earthquake of 21 July in 365 ³³	AM 5859, p. 56.9–21; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 87 f.	VII, 7, p. 149; transl., I, p. 292	I, p. 160.24–8; transl., p. 133.7–11
The appearance of man-shaped clouds and the birth of a deformed child at the time of the Gothic invasion of twenty Roman provinces	AM 5870, pp. 64.34–65.2; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 100	VII, 7, p. 152; transl., I, p. 294	(i)
Birth of Siamese twins in Emesus	AM 5878, p. 70.12–9; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 106 f.	VIII, 1, pp. 163 f.; transl., II, pp. 2 f.	(ii)
Building operations of Arcadius in Constantinople (portico opposite the Praetorium and the column of Nero/kophus); foundation of Arcadiupolis in Thrace	AM 5887, p. 74.23–4; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 113; AM 5895, p. 77.24–5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 118	VIII, 1, p. 164; transl., II, p. 1	I, p. 173.5–7; transl., p. 134.30–3 (extensive reference in the construction of the Praetorium)
The empress Eudoxia's erection of a silver statue near the Church of Saint Irene	AM 5898, p. 79.4–12; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 121	VIII, 1, p. 164; transl., II, p. 1	(ii)

Cf. Alexander Monachus, PG 87, c. 4057B; Guidi, Un bios, pp. 323.26–334.10.

Cf. Guidi, Un bios, p. 642.9–10; Sotomen, II, 2, 9.

On this event, see also *Chron. Paschale*, a. 355, pp. 541.19–542.3.

This account may be a combination of information from Socrates (IV, 3: "the ground became dry") and Philostorgius (IX, 7; Valens in Marcianopolis), supplemented with material from unidentified sources. It is worth pointing out that MANGO – SCOTT have suggested that these buildings stood in Alexandria and that Theophanes' source was thus of Alexandrian origin. Although Theophanes does not specify the location of the portico and the Praetorium, Michael and the *Chron.* 1234 say that the construction took place in Constantinople, indicating that their Syriac *Chronicle* source in turn interpreted its Greek source in this manner.

THEOPHANES
AND RECENT HISTORY

THEOPHANES' BYZANTINE SOURCE FOR THE LATE SEVENTH AND EARLY EIGHTH CENTURIES

c. AD 668–716

by Stephanie FORREST

To shed light on the eventful reigns of Constantine IV (r. 668–85), Justinian II (r. 685–95, 705–11) and Leo III (r. 717–41), historians have long been forced to rely on two sources written several decades later: one, the *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nikephoros; the other, the *Chronographia* of Theophanes.¹ Yet, it has also long been recognised that both derived their accounts from much earlier sources. For the events of Syria and the Umayyad Caliphate, it is now generally agreed that Theophanes used an “eastern” source of Syriac origin, which is frequently attributed to Theophilus of Edessa and is discussed in numerous papers in this volume.² For internal Byzantine events, we are on still shakier ground, but much scholarship over the last half-century has held that they shared at least two common sources. The later of these was an iconophile chronicle, which is usually said to have started in *circa* 720 and concluded near the end of the eighth century;³ the earlier, a source—frequently attributed to the mysterious “Trajan the Patrician”—which

1. This paper is an adaptation of a fourth-year Honours thesis, which the present author submitted to the University of Melbourne in November 2013. I take this opportunity to thank all those who offered me advice and assisted me in the process of getting this paper published. First of all is Associate Professor Roger Scott, whose generous support throughout the year was invaluable and without whom I would certainly not have had the opportunity to study this topic. I would also like to thank John Burke and Penelope Buckley for providing helpful feedback, along with many other academic staff members and co-students from the University of Melbourne who have provided me inspiration and support. Finally, I would like to thank the editors of this volume for considering this paper for publication. Please note that the main conclusions in this paper were reached independently of M. JANKOWIAK. The first Arab siege of Constantinople, in *Constructing the seventh century*, ed. by C. Zuckerman (= *TM* 17), Paris 2013, pp. 237–320, which was published too late to feature in my original thesis but is nonetheless substantially in agreement.

2. On Theophanes' eastern source, see E. BROOKS, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers, *BZ* 15/2, 1906, pp. 578–87; A. PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian dynasty, *Byz* 44, 1974, pp. 400–26; HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9.

3. MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxxviii; C. MANGO's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 15 f.; for another theory of Theophanes' usage of lost sources, see also W. BRANDES, Pejorative Phantomanen im 8. Jahrhundert : ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung, in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie : Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*,

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & E. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 417–44.

Although George the Monk includes substantial sections that were not included in Nikephoros' account—for example, the short entry under AM 6161 that mentions the completed revet of the Anatolic Theme and the mutilation of Constantine IV's brother²¹—in general, George the Monk's account is structurally far more similar to Theophanes'. This can be more clearly seen in their semi-legendary accounts of the beginning of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople. In Theophanes' account of the 668–c. 716 years (AM 6164 and 6165)—the Saracens send out a great fleet towards Constantinople under the command of the generals Mouamed and Kaisos, aided by the great Kaisos and winter in Smyrna and Lykia. Upon learning about the movements of the fleet, Constantine IV equips his own fleet and prepares for a siege.²² The following year (AM 6167) the fleet arrives and the siege itself begins.²³ By contrast, Nikephoros and George the Monk provide much simpler accounts. According to them, the Saracens sent out under the command of "Chaleb" alone, and only following its arrival at Constantinople does Constantine equip his own fleet in retaliation. Neither makes any mention of the generals Mouamed or Kaisos, or of the Saracen fleet wintering in Smyrna and Lykia.²⁴ The reasons for this are likely simple: since the movements of Mouamed and Kaisos around the city appear to be alluded to in some of the Oriental accounts,²⁵ Theophanes must have constructed his account of the siege using multiple sources and arranged some of the material in fit over two years. Nikephoros and George the Monk, however, did not use any additional sources for this section and did not need to break the narrative by year, and so both presumably preserve the original order of events as they appeared in the *Byzantine* source. This strongly suggests that both were working independently of Theophanes throughout this section, and most likely both had direct access to the original lost *Byzantine* chronicle.

It therefore appears highly likely that all three of these later compilers—Theophanes, Nikephoros, and George the Monk—had access to a single lost early eighth-century source, and that all three reproduced different parts of it. There has otherwise been very little consensus as to the details of the source, or even on when it began and ended. Mango, Treadgold and Howard-Johnston both contended that the source was an *annual* chronicle, although they otherwise disagree on its scope and contents, as discussed below.²⁶ Its content, Afanogenov has suggested that the supposed early eighth-century source was two consecutive sources, one of which was dated by regnal year and the other written by the emperor Leo III himself.²⁷

In view of this lack of agreement, in what follows I will offer a new "reconstruction" of the lost early eighth-century chronicle. Though very indebted to all earlier studies on the source—particularly those of Afanogenov, Howard-Johnston, and Treadgold—my reconstruction will differ from all of these in at least one respect. I will suggest that Nikephoros and George the Monk each had access to a single chronicle that covered the years 668–c. 716, which may not have been annualistic and offered a highly selective narrative account of the period. It was clearly a political and largely secular work, and its central antagonist was Justinian II; indeed, the writer's hostile treatment of this emperor was perhaps the most distinguishable and revealing feature of his work.

1. BEGINNINGS AND ENDS

The ending date of the hypothesised *Chronicle* has been debated over for decades, beginning with Orosz, who, noting that the unfinished London manuscript of Nikephoros—believed to reflect an earlier draft of the *Breviarium*—ended suddenly with the blinding of Philippikos in 713, speculated that Nikephoros' earlier eighth-century source had also ended there, and that the more complete text in the Vatican manuscript must have been completed at a later date after additional source material had become available.²⁸ Though this date was accepted for some time,²⁹ it was ultimately discounted by Mango, who pointed out that the London manuscript ends in the middle of a paragraph which is continuous in the equivalent sections of Theophanes and the Vatican manuscript of Nikephoros.³⁰ Mango later put forward the coronation of Constantine V in circa AD 720 (AM 6211) as an ending point for the earlier source. The speculation was made for two reasons:³¹ first, there is a *lacuna* between 720 and 726 in Nikephoros and Theophanes (AM 6213–8) in which neither have anything to report on internal Byzantine affairs; Theophanes reverts to using his eastern source, while Nikephoros skips over the period altogether. Second, the perspective of the narrative in Theophanes changes dramatically after 720. While Theophanes characterises Leo III as "pious" (εὐσεβής) during his account on the second Saracen siege (717–8, AM 6209),³² both Theophanes and Nikephoros are hostile in the sections after 720; as early as 726 (AM 6218), for example, he is characterised as "mad," "lawless," and is compared to Herod.³³

A number of more recent studies have followed Mango in making 720 the speculative ending date of the earlier source. On closer inspection, however, there are reasons to suspect that this date is almost as problematic as 713.³⁴

31. L. Orosz, *The London manuscript of Nikephoros' Breviarium*, Budapest 1948, p. 13.

32. See, for example, HEAD, *Justinian II* (quoted n. 4), pp. 15–6; PROUDFOOT, *The sources of Theophanes* (quoted n. 2), pp. 426–7.

33. MASCO, *The Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), pp. 548–9.

34. MANGO's introduction to *Niceph., Brev.*, pp. 14 f.; TREADGOLD, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 595.

35. Theoph. AM 6209, p. 401.9–12.

36. *Ibid.*, AM 6221, p. 407.15–21—Leo "mad" and lawless: p. 407.15; compared with Herod: p. 407.25; Germanos "blessed": p. 407.17.

37. TREADGOLD, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 594; MANGO—SCOTT, p. lxxviii; MANGO's introduction to *Niceph., Brev.*, p. 16; and HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Winesen*, p. 243 all accept this ending date, although none examine this issue to considerable depth.

21. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 372.11–27, paralleled in George the Monk, p. 728.6–14.

22. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 373.14–23.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 374.19–23.

24. Theoph. AM 6165, p. 375.25–6.

25. Theoph. AM 6165, p. 375.25–6; George the Monk, p. 727.16–21.

26. See, for example, MANGO, *Leo III*, p. 457.

27. Afanogenov, *Justinian II*, pp. 406–7. Treadgold, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 595, although he also is far more skeptical.

28. The main point of disagreement between these two reconstructions is the beginning date, which, as discussed above, is most likely to have been 668.

29. See, for example, HEAD.

30. The main point of disagreement between these two reconstructions is the beginning date, which, as discussed above, is most likely to have been 668.

From the late eighth-century "iconophile" source probably begun before 726 to the end of the narrative of the second Saracen siege of Constantinople in AM 6210 (731/2)—eight years before the later eighth-century source is supposed to have started—Theophanes announces that "a more impious son and precursor of the Antichrist—Constantine was born to the impious emperor Leo."⁴⁶ In the following scene he describes Constantine V's baptism which is bungled when the infant defecates into the baptismal tank.⁴⁷ In response, the here Sainly patriarch Germanos foretells: "this sign has shown that great evil will come about for the Christians and the Church because of him."⁴⁸ The story has many similarities with the entries of the later eighth century—namely, on families towards Leo III and Constantine V, its Sainly depiction of Germanos, and its interest in divine portents. On the other hand, it has little in common with the *Chronicle of Isidore II*, which elsewhere portrays some respect for Leo III,⁴⁹ a suspicion of Germanos for his involvement in the Monothelite council under Philippikos,⁵⁰ and comparatively little interest in divine portents.⁵¹ It would therefore be more logical to connect this scene with the later source—an indication that it began well before 726, and indeed before this earlier source is supposed to have ended in 720.

Aside from the different perspectives, there is likely another aspect in which the two sources differed. While the later source was most likely dated by indiction, there is very little evidence—either in Theophanes or in Nikephoros—that the earlier source was likewise.⁵² As noted by Annogenov, there are abundant references to the indiction throughout both Theophanes' and Nikephoros' accounts on the later eighth century,⁵³ but throughout the section drawn from the earlier eighth-century source, there is no such pattern to find. Theophanes and Nikephoros do not mention the indiction once at the 668–714 date can be attributed to the Byzantine source—a strong indication that their source did not regularly mention the indiction. The indiction dating begins suddenly with the commencement of the second Saracen siege of 717–8 (AM 6209–10), and is also mentioned by both writers in the short entry reporting the coronation of the infant Constantine V in 720 (AM 6212). The presence of an indiction date in the latter entry, at least, suggests that it did not come from the *Chronicle* at all, but was part of the late eighth-century source.

From the above, therefore, we can conclude that it is unlikely the earlier source ended with the coronation of Constantine V in AM 6212, yet this gives rise to some problems.

46. Theoph., AM 6201, pp. 397.28–300.1.

47. Ibid., p. 401.3–27.

48. Ibid., p. 400.15–1.

49. It should be noted that the coronation of Leo III as emperor in Theoph., AM 6209, is dated by year.

50. Germanos is mentioned as one of Philippikos' key supporters in Theoph., AM 6204, p. 382.15–6 (Theoph., AM 6204, p. 382.15–6).

51. The above is the concluding portion of this article below.

52. Annogenov, *The Source* (quoted n. 47), p. 199 is in agreement here, although he still believes that the source was eventually dated by indiction. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 303–4 (implied) and Treadgold, *The Sources of Theophanes* (quoted n. 2), p. 409.

53. Theoph., AM 6208, p. 396.38 (Constantine, 9th indiction), AM 6221, pp. 408.31–2, 409.11 (Constantine and Leo, 1st indiction), AM 6231, p. 411.16 (May, 8th indiction), AM 6232, p. 412.7 (Constantine, 10th indiction), AM 6233, p. 414.18 (2nd June, 10th indiction).

The origin of the siege narrative of 717–8 (AM 6209–10) is now uncertain. There is evidence both to connect it to the earlier source—namely, its depiction of Leo III as "pious"—and to the later source—namely, its reference to the indiction. It may be impossible to determine its origin unless further evidence comes to light, and in the absence of any obvious transitional point, I can only conclude that the earlier chronicle would have ended somewhere between the accession of Leo III in 716/7 (AM 6209) and the failed rebellion of Artemios Anastasios in 718/9 (AM 6211).

A probable beginning date of the source is, fortunately, somewhat easier to identify. It appears highly likely that it began in 667/8 (AM 6160),⁵⁴ since Nikephoros does not appear to have had access to any information for the reign of Constans II (641–68) and skips immediately from his accession to his murder,⁵⁵ while Theophanes uses his "eastern source" almost exclusively for Constans II's reign.⁵⁶

In this respect, worthy of attention is an argument by Annogenov, who—while largely agreeing with this study with respect to the ending date of the source—concluded that Theophanes, Nikephoros, and George the Monk had two sources for the period in question: the first covered the years 668 to 685, and the second, 685 to 717.⁵⁷

There were two reasons for this: first, he argued that the reign of Constantine IV includes far more references to Divine ordination than the second part of the supposed *Chronicle*, and second, that it also included fewer borrowed Latin words than the second half.⁵⁸ There are some problems, however, with both assertions. The first misses at least three references to Divine ordination that occur after 685—one, when George the Monk concludes that the disaster at the Battle of Sebastopolis demonstrated "never to break a sacred oath,"⁵⁹ another, when Leontios' allies foretell that he will rule the empire (AM 6187),⁶⁰ and last, in the dramatic scene where Justinian vows to avenge his enemies

46. As agreed by Mango, *The Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), p. 545; Mango's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 15 ff; Mango + Scott, p. lxxvii; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 307; and Proudfoot, *The sources of Theophanes* (quoted n. 2), p. 426. Treadgold, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 596–611, disagrees: "as a rule, Byzantine historians either began with the Creation... confined themselves to one subject... or continued an existing history. A general history covering the years from 668 to 720 would fit none of these three types" (p. 596). On this basis, Treadgold contends that the source was actually a continuation of the *Chronicle Paschale* which began in 627, which Theophanes himself drew upon for the very sparse "non-eastern" entries throughout 627–68. Both parts of this argument are questionable. First of all, the issue of the validity of the above rule aside, there is no reason that this *Chronicle* cannot have been classified as a history "confining [it]self to one subject." Second, there is practically no evidence to connect the very few "non-eastern" entries throughout Theophanes' account of 627–68 with the 668–c. 720 source—indeed, since neither Niceph. nor Georg. Mon. used it before 668, it would appear highly unlikely.

47. Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 32–3, pp. 84 ff.

48. Theoph., AM 6133–60, pp. 341.18–352.9; see Proudfoot, *The sources of Theophanes* (quoted n. 2), pp. 403–26; Mango + Scott, pp. lxxii–lxxvii; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9.

49. Annogenov, *The source* (quoted n. 30), pp. 13–4.

50. Annogenov, *The source* (quoted n. 30), provides these precise numbers: 7 occurrences over 20 pages of the 641–68 period (0.35 Latin words per page), 37 occurrences throughout 23 pages of the 668–717 period (1.61 per page) and 27 occurrences over 7.5 pages of the "Leo sequence" (here called the *Vita Leonis*—3.6 per page).

51. Georg. Mon., p. 730.17–9.

52. Theoph., AM 6187, pp. 368.30–369.4 and Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.12–4, pp. 96 ff.

...and the long narrative on Leo III's military activities as strategos...
 Theophanes describes the actions of Leo III prior to becoming emperor...
 ...of the end of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* as reconstructed above...
 ...characterised by lengthy, excessively detailed dialogues...
 ...of the Anastasians—refuses to recognise Theodosios III (716–7) as...
 ...the Saracens general Suleiman, who demands to enter into...
 ...Leo sees through this...
 ...After many more complex negotiations, Leo...
 ...he falls upon numerous dignitaries...
 ...and takes them as hostages. Through the...
 ...and is then allowed

The... of the entry in Nikephoros' account has long been noted...
 ...the entire episode may have come...
 ...While this would...
 ...a summarised version of the long...
 ...by Aeginetos, who...
 ...and that Nikephoros...
 ...it was irrelevant to his narrative...
 ...On...
 ...that they have virtually nothing...
 ...account of Leo's rise to power:

...[...] learning these things...
 ...[Theodosios], making exhortations...
 ...[...] that...
 ...[...] at that time...
 ...[...] a process in...
 ...[...] and having come into the Great...

...different account of Leo's rise to power...
 ...there is no indication that he was "elected"...
 ...of leadership when he

...against Constantinople; on the contrary, Leo refuses to accept Theodosios as...
 ...in the first place and actively marches against Constantinople. Conversely...
 ...Nikephoros' version, there is no indication that Leo was actively seeking power and...
 ...hostages; the dignitaries decide Theodosios is incapable of protecting them...
 ...Leo emperor.

This argument alone strongly suggests that the "Leo sequence" in Theophanes was...
 ...but there are other factors that show the...
 ...was written by a different hand. There are significant differences of style...
 ...and vocabulary between the lengthy sequence in AM 6208 and the rest of Theophanes'...
 ...for example, the writer of other sections of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, as preserved by Theophanes, tends to refer to figures primarily by rank...
 ...as Nikephoros does when he introduces Leo as "the...
 ...at that time strategos."⁹⁸ No reference, however, to Leo's patrician rank...
 ...occurs in Theophanes' narrative, where he is repeatedly referred to as "the Strategos."⁹⁹
 ...Similarly, the "Leo sequence" uses direct speech more generously than the remainder of...
 ...the *Chronicle of Justinian II*,¹⁰⁰ and while the writer of the *Chronicle* tended to refer to the...
 ...Umayyad enemies as "Arabs" or "Hagarenes," and rarely as "Saracens,"¹⁰¹ throughout the...
 ..."Leo sequence" Theophanes refers to them frequently as "Saracens," twice as "Hagarenes,"...
 ...and never as "Arabs."¹⁰² In short, due to the many stylistic differences, it is highly unlikely...
 ...that the *Chronicle* and Theophanes' account on the early career of Leo III were originally...
 ...written by the same hand.

98. See Nikeph., *Brev.*, § 52.19, p. 120 and other examples in Theoph., at AM 6169, p. 355.16 (Joan Pitrigandis, patrician); AM 6187, pp. 368.16 and 368.20 (Stephen Rhinikos, patrician and strategos); p. 368.18 (Leontios, patrician and strategos of the Anatolies); AM 6190, p. 370.8–9 (the patrician John, a "suitable man"); AM 6203, pp. 377.22–3, 379.18 and 380.11–2 (Maurios the patrician); p. 377.23–4 (Stephen Asmikios, patrician); p. 378.27–8 (George Syros, patrician and general logothetes); p. 380.29–30 (Barishakourios, first patrician and count of the Opukion); pp. 377.31–2, 378.24, 379.15 and 381.2 (Helios, *spatharios* and governor of Cherson); p. 380.12 (John Strouthos, *parbarios*); p. 381.4–5 (Romanos, *spatharios*; AM 6205, p. 383.13 (Theodoros Myakios, patrician); AM 6206, p. 384.2–3 (Daniel of Sinope, patrician and eparch of Constantinople); AM 6210, p. 398.7–8 (Sergios, first *spatharios* and strategos of Sicily); p. 398.14 (Paulos, patrician and strategos of Sicily); AM 6211, p. 400.26–7 (Sisinnios Rhendakis, patrician); p. 400.30 (Isos, patrician and count of the Opukion). In each case, the individual is first introduced initially by rank (patrician/*parbarios*).

99. Leo is repeatedly referred to as "the strategos" throughout Theoph., AM 6208, pp. 386.29, 387.6, 387.9, 387.13, 387.19–20, 387.27, 388.5, 388.10, 388.18, 388.27, 389.4, 389.10, 389.15, 389.26, 389.30, 389.31, 390.14, 390.19.

100. In fact, there does not appear to have been any more than fifteen examples in the *Chronicle*: Theoph., (1) AM 6161, p. 352.12–21; (2) AM 6186, p. 368.5–6; (3) AM 6186, p. 368.8–9; (4) AM 6187, pp. 368.30–369.2; (5) AM 6187, p. 369.2–4; (6) AM 6187, p. 369.13–1, 17; AM 6187, p. 369.21–2; (7) AM 6187, p. 369.22–3; (8) AM 6196, p. 373.24–6; (9) AM 6196, p. 373.27–8; (10) AM 6198, p. 375.11–2; (11) AM 6198, p. 375.24–9; (12) AM 6203, p. 381.9; (13) AM 6203, p. 381.15; (14) AM 6203, p. 381.17. Notably, the majority of these are acclamations by crowds.

101. Apoll., Theoph., AM 6169, p. 355.22; AM 6178, p. 363.32; AM 6178, p. 363.18; AM 6184, p. 366.18; AM 6206, p. 390.17; AM 6209, p. 370.4; AM 6209, p. 382.24; AM 6209, p. 383.25; AM 6209, p. 392.40; AM 6210, p. 399.5; Epiphanius, AM 6207, p. 385.5; AM 6210, p. 398.6; Apollonius, AM 6169, p. 355.19; AM 6185, p. 367.1–2; AM 6205, p. 384.15; AM 6210, p. 390.6.

102. Epiphanius, Theoph., AM 6208, pp. 387.6, 387.8, 387.21, 387.22, 387.24, 388.9, 388.15; AM 6208, pp. 391.13, 391.17, 391.18, 393.23, 393.30; Apollonius, AM 6208, p. 387.14.

These differences suggest that the entire "Leo" sequence—as featured in both George the Monk and Theophanes—must have come from another unknown source.¹⁰⁹ It is impossible to ascertain the exact transmission pattern, but one factor remains near certain: that the lengthy narrative on the early career of Leo III cannot have been part of the original *Chronicle of Justinian II*, given the stylistic differences, and therefore Nikephoros' version must reflect the original contents.

Similarly, the sequence describing Leo's early career in AM 6209,¹¹⁰ which does not appear in George the Monk or Nikephoros, shares many of the stylistic features of the "Leo" sequence and was probably drawn from the same source; it, too, is unlikely to have been part of the *Chronicle*.¹¹¹ It is not possible, however, to determine the origin of the other two entries that appear in both Theophanes and George the Monk, but not Nikephoros—namely, the entry on the Anatolic revolt¹¹² and the dialogue between Justinian II and Kallinikos.¹¹³ Their omission and inclusion alike must remain speculative.

4. A PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION

Based on the above analysis, it is possible to develop an outline of the contents of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*. The next section will provide an overview of the reconstructed *Chronicle*—a *Chronicle* which, as will be seen, was surprisingly well-structured and narrative in form.

Based on the evidence we currently have available, it probably opened with a notice on the murder of Constans II (perhaps referred to as "Constantine"), and may have closely resembled the notice in Nikephoros, recounting in rather detached terms that Constans was murdered by his servants in Syracuse after a reign of twenty-seven years.¹¹⁴ This would have been closely followed by short notice on the accession of Constans' son, Constantine IV.¹¹⁵ "Immediately after his succession," as Nikephoros puts it,¹¹⁶ this was followed by the expedition of the Saracens against Constantinople under the leadership of "Cacil" (AM 6164)¹¹⁷ and the legendary seven-year siege (AM 6165),¹¹⁸ which ends when the enemy fleet is destroyed in a storm. Upon hearing of the destruction of his army, Caliph Marwan demands peace talks, and the emperor sends the patrician John

"Pirrigaudis" to make terms (AM 6169).¹¹⁹ Being an experienced politician, John is received "with great honour" in Damascus, and he and the caliph's dignitaries draw up two copies of a ten-year treaty with terms that are highly favourable towards the Romans. They are ratified by both sides with a "sacred oath."¹²⁰ As a result of these successful negotiations, many other foreign rulers affirm the peace with the emperor, and as a result "there was great peace in the east and west."¹²¹

If the *Chronicle* included the notice of the revolt of the Anatolic Theme and the mutilation of Constantine's brothers in AM 6161,¹²² this entry probably appeared after the end of the siege narrative, since this corresponds with the chronology given by the eastern tradition¹²³ and agrees with George the Monk's version.¹²⁴ The next major event it described was the "Bulgar narrative"—a long and continuous sequence which Theophanes places in a single year (AM 6171).¹²⁵ The narrative begins with a "Herodotean" digression on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria," which reveals a surprisingly detailed, if confused, knowledge of the region around the "Maotic Lake" (Sea of Azov). The features mentioned include the Danapris and Danastris, the "Hebrew" population in Phanagoria, and the "great river Atel"—the Volga, here referred to by its Turkic name.¹²⁶ It then recounts the intriguing legend of the Bulgar khan Kubrat and his five warring sons, one of whom—Asparukh—is driven to settle in the region of the Danube,¹²⁷ and Constantine, getting word of this, marches against the invaders.¹²⁸ He, however, is stricken by gout,¹²⁹ and when he retreats to Mesembria for treatment, the cavalry officers panic and rout. The Bulgars thus have an easy victory and proceed to pillage Thrace.¹³⁰ The whole episode is set up as a rationale for the Sixth Ecumenical Council,¹³¹ when Constantine, seeking to avert divine anger,¹³² holds the Council in order to end the Monothelite controversy. Finally, the reign of Constantine IV probably ended with Constantine's death, after spending the last years of his seventeen-year reign in "in tranquillity and peace."¹³³

The next section would have explained how Justinian, being an inexperienced youth of sixteen, "undid the measures made by his father for the sake of peace," as Nikephoros

113. Theoph. AM 6169, pp. 355.10–356.2; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.31–7, p. 86.

114. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.28–9.

115. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 356.7–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.36–7, p. 86.

116. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23.

117. See, for example, Theoph. AM 6173, p. 360.18–20; Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 455 ff.; *Chron.* 1234, transl., II, p. 225, all of whom imply that this occurred after *circa* 680.

118. Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

119. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–360.7.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 356.18–357.11; the only other reference to the Volga's Turkic name in a Greek text identified is at *Dell*, § 40.24, p. 176, in a section on the Karaboi and Turks; it is referred to here as 'Eriç.

121. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 357.11–358.11.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 358.11–359.19.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 358.28.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 359.3–19.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 359.19–360.7.

126. Constantine reportedly believed in *apovoiac* *θεού* *τούτο* *αυτοβιβνέσεν* *Χριστιανισμόν* ("thus was death to the Christians on account of the will of God"), Theoph. AM 6171, p. 359.25.

127. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 37.10–11, pp. 90 ff.

109. It is only the version of George the Monk throughout pp. 734.1–735.11 is particularly brief, and usually no more information is provided. It is worth noting, however, that George the Monk confuses some of the names involved in the "Leo" narrative at pp. 734.18–735.11. Whereas Theophanes has Leo's "brothers" attacking a Muslim (pp. 386.25–387.2) and Maslamas writing to Leo, "come to me and I will do anything you want" (p. 389.30–1), George the Monk confuses the narrative in his version, having Leo's Muslims doing both (pp. 734.19–735.3).

110. Theoph. AM 6209, pp. 391.5–395.12.

111. See Monks' Source, p. 6090.

112. Theoph. AM 6161, pp. 352.12–23; Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

113. Theoph. AM 6169, pp. 355.10–356.2; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.

114. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.28–9.

115. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 356.7–8.

116. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23.

117. Theoph. AM 6173, p. 360.18–20; Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 455 ff.; *Chron.* 1234, transl., II, p. 225, all of whom imply that this occurred after *circa* 680.

118. Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

... "he smashes the Mardaites and destroys the 'Brazen Wall' (AM 6179),¹⁴² perhaps some fortress against Armenia (AM 6178),¹⁴³ breaks the peace with the Bulgars, and invades the frontier of Thrace.¹⁴⁴ He then invades Bulgaria, where he succeeds in capturing many Slavs, though the writer emphasises the human cost (AM 6180).¹⁴⁵ The *De Opusibus* Theme, Justinian writes to the caliph, advising that "he would not abide by the peace treaty terms agreed in writing."¹⁴⁶ He then raises an army of 20,000 men from the transplanted Slavs—whom he calls "the Chosen people"¹⁴⁷—and marches the army to Sebastopolis.¹⁴⁸ The Saracens pretend to be reluctant to break the peace, reminding Justinian of the "sacred oath" and warning him that breaking the oath will run the wrath of God. Justinian foolishly ignores them and presses for battle, and is probably defeated by the Saracen army when 20,000 Slavic mercenaries desert in the night.¹⁴⁹ In vengeance, Justinian massacres the remaining 10,000 mercenaries and leaves with their wives and children.¹⁵⁰

Now the writer describes Justinian's internal administration,¹⁵¹ including his elaborate building projects—which included a new reception hall and walls around the Palace¹⁵²—and his unrelenting desire of adorns—particularly Theodoros the general logothete, an eunuch and former Persian, head-eunuch, *sakellarios* and master of the mints in the Palace.¹⁵³ Both are compared to animals and accused of terrorising the population—Theodoros grows his victims without cause, reportedly torturing them by separating them from smoking pipes of chaff.¹⁵⁴ Stephanos reportedly stones his workers and himself to death and abuses the emperor's mother, the *angusta* Anastasia.¹⁵⁵ In

addition to this, the eparch of Constantinople—who remains mysteriously unnamed—is ordered by the emperor to lock numerous powerful dignitaries in the state prisons.¹⁵⁶ The dialogue between Kallinikos and Justinian—if it was part of the source—would have formed as part of this entry, as it does in Theophanes and George the Monk.¹⁵⁷ Finally, this comparatively brief account of Justinian's first reign would have ended with his deposition by Leontios in 695.¹⁵⁸ Confused details in Theophanes and George the Monk seem to indicate that all writers omitted significant details. In essence, Leontios, a former *strategos* who was imprisoned three years earlier, is sent to Hellas to be *strategos*.¹⁵⁹ When he is about to leave in the harbour, he is convinced by his friends to revolt. They break into the state prison—the Praetorian—overpower the (unnamed) eparch, and release the prisoners, who join the revolt. The rebels gather in Hagia Sophia, and some of their leaders convince the patriarch Kallinikos to join their cause. According to George the Monk, the demarch of the Blue faction declares Leontios emperor.¹⁶⁰ Afterwards, Justinian is dragged from the Palace to the hippodrome, and though the mob calls for him to be killed, Leontios spares him out of "love for his father."¹⁶¹ Instead, Justinian's nose and tongue are slit, and he is sentenced to exile in Cherson on the Crimea. His notorious advisors, Theodoros and Stephanos, are dragged through the City behind a chariot and burned alive.¹⁶²

It appears that the *Chronicle* recorded little of the intervening reigns of Leontios and Tiberios Apsimarios.¹⁶³ Essentially the whole account is devoted to the military crisis that led to the revolt of Apsimarios in *circa* 697/8 (AM 6190),¹⁶⁴ yet even here, the loss, temporary regain, and permanent loss of Carthage are dealt with in rapid succession¹⁶⁵—as is the subsequent revolt of the navy,¹⁶⁶ the bubonic plague outbreak in Constantinople,¹⁶⁷ and the siege that ended when the walls were betrayed to Apsimarios.¹⁶⁸ If Leontios' three years in power are dealt with rapidly, Apsimarios' reign is even more so; essentially all that the *Chronicle* had to report for his seven years was that he put his brother, Herakleios, in charge of the cavalry, and that he was "very capable."¹⁶⁹

143. *Ibid.*, p. 367.30–2.

144. *Ibid.*, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.3–16.

145. Theoph., AM 6187, pp. 368.15–369.30; Niceph., *Rev.*, § 40.1–39, pp. 94 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 731.18–20.

146. Theoph., AM 6187, p. 368.18–22; Niceph., *Rev.*, § 40.1–7, p. 94.

147. Georg. Mon., p. 731.17–9.

148. Niceph., *Rev.*, § 40.33–4, p. 96.

149. Theoph., AM 6187, p. 368.26–30.

150. As has been noted by P. B. P. The sources of Theophanes (quoting n. 2), p. 126; Chrysostom, *Tractate on the Passion*, p. 619; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 257.

151. Theoph., AM 6190, pp. 370.6–371.13; Niceph., *Rev.*, § 41.1–12, pp. 98 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 731.21–732.8.

152. In fact, the whole episode is described in less than a page in de Boor's edition of Theoph., throughout AM 6190, p. 370.6–371.13.

153. Theoph., AM 6190, p. 370.20–5.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 370.25–7.

155. *Ibid.*, pp. 370.27–371.8.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 371.10.

immediately after recounting the conflict between Leontios and Apsimaros, the *Chronicle* appears to have traced the adventures of Justinian II in exile.¹⁵¹ It describes his attempts to gain support from the khagan of Khazaria, his marriage to the Khazarian princess "Theodora," and his dealings with Khan Terbel of Bulgaria (AM 6196).¹⁵² Next, it describes how he marched on Constantinople with Terbel's Bulgars and captured the city (AM 6197).¹⁵³ Surprisingly, all three writers—George the Monk (AM 6198), George the Monk begins by saying that he killed some "openly,"¹⁵⁴ then merely. The methods are as follows:

Theoph.: and many he enclosed in sacks and made to drown in the sea;¹⁵⁵ Georg. Mon. adds by night;¹⁵⁶

Niceph.: having promoted others to positions, he then sent men after them to cut them down;¹⁵⁷

Theoph. others, having invited them to a "breakfast-lunch" . . .¹⁵⁸

Georg. Mon.: He separated them from the present life fearfully with poison;¹⁵⁹

Theoph.: As soon as they rose, he impaled some and cut down others;¹⁶⁰

Georg. Mon.: At the same time into exile, he impaled [them].¹⁶¹

The poem sequence ended with short notice on Justinian retrieving his wife and children from Khazaria.¹⁶²

The source apparently recorded very selected events of his second reign. Two military disasters—for which Justinian is made to look responsible—are recorded: the first of these is when he decides to invade Bulgaria again.¹⁶³ Like all of Justinian's wars, as recorded

in this source, it quickly turns to disaster, with the Roman army besieged in a coastal fortress;¹⁶⁴ after several days, Justinian himself makes a narrow escape by sea.¹⁶⁵ The second is the siege of Tyana, which Theophanes appears to have heavily embellished with his eastern source.¹⁶⁶ Nikephoros—consequently the most reliable guide to the original narrative—records that Justinian himself sent dignitaries into Anatolia to raise peasant soldiers, which were sent against the invading Umayyad army.¹⁶⁷ When the Saracen army saw that the Romans were ill-equipped, however, they attacked and put them to flight, leaving the inhabitants with no option but to abandon the city.¹⁶⁸ Since there is emphasis on Justinian raising the peasant soldiers,¹⁶⁹ he is once again blamed. The third and final long entry from his second reign concerns the events that toppled him from power and resulted in his execution.¹⁷⁰ Justinian, driven by paranoia and a lust for vengeance,¹⁷¹ incites the people of Cherson to revolt and declare a political exile, Philippikos Bardanes, emperor.¹⁷² After a series of military engagements, Philippikos succeeds in drawing Justinian out of Constantinople and capturing the city in his absence.¹⁷³ Justinian is abandoned by his own army, and the *spatharios* Elias—enraged over Justinian's murder of his sons and his wife's forced marriage to a household cook¹⁷⁴—beheads the emperor with his own knife.¹⁷⁵ Justinian's son and heir, the prince Tiberios, is slaughtered "in the manner of a sheep" by the patrician Mauroz Bessos and the *spatharios* John Strouthos;¹⁷⁶ Justinian's key supporters are executed in the following days.¹⁷⁷

The final sections of the *Chronicle* deal with the turbulent years that followed Justinian's execution.¹⁷⁸ The account of the reign of Philippikos begins with a personal attack,¹⁷⁹ in which the writer reflects, "he was deemed erudite and prudent in dialogue, but in his deeds he showed himself incompetent in all respects, passing life profanely and ineffectually."¹⁸⁰

171. *Ibid.* AM 6200, p. 376.19–26.

172. *Ibid.* AM 6200, p. 376.26–9.

173. See MANGO's commentary of Niceph. *Brev.*, p. 201; this is most likely the case due to substantial differences between the two accounts. The siege of Tyana is mentioned in Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 478; *Chron.* 1234, transl., II, p. 232; Agap., pp. 498 f.

174. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 44.8–11, p. 106.

175. *Ibid.*, § 44.11–3, p. 108.

176. *Ibid.*, § 44.13–24, p. 108.

177. *Ibid.*, § 44.8–9, p. 106.

178. Theoph. AM 6203, pp. 377.20–381.6; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 45.1–105, pp. 106 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 733.12–22.

179. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 377.24–6, gives his initial motives as follows: *μενομένης τῆς κριτ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χερσονησιῶν καὶ Βοσποριανῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κληρῶν τοῦ* ("remembering of the conspiracy that came about against him by the Chersonites and the Bosphorians and the remaining *klerika* . . .").

180. As detailed in Theoph. AM 6203, p. 379.12–4.

181. *Ibid.*, p. 380.3–10.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 379.14–7.

183. *Ibid.*, pp. 380.30–381.6.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 380.14–29.

185. *Ibid.*, p. 380.29–30.

186. To HOWARD JOHNSTON, these years were "to be valued above all" other sections. *Warrisan* (quoted n. 2), p. 306.

187. Theoph. AM 6203, pp. 377.20–381.23, also alluded to in Niceph., *Brev.*, § 46.1–2, p. 111.

188. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 381.28–30.

151. Theoph. AM 6196, pp. 372.26–374.8; there is effectively a six-year *lacuna* between AM 6190 and 6196.

152. Theoph. AM 6196, pp. 372.26–374.8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.1–44, pp. 100 ff.

153. Theoph. AM 6197, p. 374.16–23; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.44–9, p. 102; Georg. Mon., p. 732.16–9.

154. Theoph. AM 6198, pp. 375.26–375.28; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.49–77, pp. 102 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 732.30–733.12.

155. Georg. Mon., p. 733.12.

156. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.27–8.

157. Georg. Mon., p. 733.12.

158. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31, p. 104.

159. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

160. Georg. Mon., p. 733.12.

161. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

162. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31.

163. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

164. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

165. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

166. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

167. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

168. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

169. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

170. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

171. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

172. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.28–31; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.

and accuses him of being a "heretic" and "adulterer" (AM 6203).²⁰⁸ It would then have occurred—worth clear disdain—Philippikos' attempt to reawaken the Monothelite controversy,²⁰⁹ while the Bulgars pillage Thrace up to the walls of Constantinople itself.²¹⁰ George Porphoros, presumably in response to the deteriorating military situation,²¹¹ The following day, the populace gathers in Hagia Sophia and proclaims Artemios Anastasios emperor.²¹² An able administrator, Anastasios blinds the men responsible for deposing Philippikos²¹³ and immediately appoints "most capable" generals and "most eloquent" secretaries.²¹⁴ He also gathers intelligence from Damascus.²¹⁵ When he sends an expedition against Rhodes, however, the "evil-doing"²¹⁶ Opsikian soldiers revolt and kill the commander in charge,²¹⁷ deposing Theodosios—a "quiet" and "politically-uninvolved" man—his cousin Rader.²¹⁸ The army marches to Constantinople and besiege it for six months until the walls are betrayed,²¹⁹ while the "lawless" Opsikian soldiers loot the city.²²⁰ Anastasios is forced to abdicate and is exiled to Thessalonike.²²¹

The final section of the *Chronicle* is attributed to the *Chronicle of Justinian II* is Nikephoros' usurpation of the throne.²²² According to this, the constant usurpations cause a decline in "the education of youth" and "military training,"²²³ and the Saracens capitalise on the opportunity and attack the city.²²⁴ At this, anonymous "military and civil office-holders" convince Theodosios to abdicate, and hold a ballot to elect a new emperor.²²⁵ The *strategos* of the Anatolian Theme is "elected" and is crowned in Hagia Sophia following a triumphal procession.²²⁶ Later events that may also be attributed to the *Chronicle* include the short war in the fall of 694 against the Saracens,²²⁷ the entire sequence of the second Saracen war,²²⁸ the war on the revolt of Sergios in Sicily,²²⁹ and—last of all—the attempted rebellion of the exiled Artemios Anastasios in Thessalonike after the end of the siege.²³⁰ A

close analysis of the origin of the entries in this transitional section, however, is beyond the scope of this study, and will need to be carried out elsewhere.

This proposed reconstruction suggests a number of things about the *Chronicle*. Above all, one thing that is striking about it is that it does not present as an all-encompassing annalistic chronicle of the kind that Theophanes authored—a work that was intended to recount all known events that occurred in that period and place them under an appropriate year. On the contrary, when material from other sources is extracted, the *Chronicle* appears to have been a structured narrative with a clear storyline, selectively told and with a very specific and pointed purpose. In every sense, it is a highly political work, and Justinian II is the central focus. Much of the narrative surrounds his abuses of power, his cruel and often gruesome treatment of his subjects, and his repeated destruction of the peace—often with little regard for formally-agreed treaties and in breach of "sacred oaths."

Before we contemplate what exactly this implies about the author, it is worth considering what this reconstruction suggests about the structure of the *Chronicle*. It is sometimes assumed that Theophanes' lost source was an annalistic chronicle, with entries regularly divided by year.²³¹ In fact, there is very little evidence to suggest that this was the case. As we have already seen, the indiction is not mentioned in any of the entries mentioned above, with the exception of two examples during the second Saracen siege narrative (717–8), which are of questionable origin.²³² Similarly, there are no other references to any precise dates, with the exception of a reference to the "Sabbath of Pentecost" before the blinding of Philippikos Bardanes.²³³

In fact, if the eastern material is to be excised, then the *Chronicle* is characterised by long sections of continuous narrative split over a relatively small number of years, with several long gaps in between. This is particularly the case throughout the reign of Constantine IV, where the information is still relatively sparse. The entire narrative is continuous in both Nikephoros and George the Monk—although the latter does arrange the entries under the reign of each emperor—and generally, there is also some evidence that Theophanes has split sections of a continuous narrative to fit them into his rigid annalistic structure.

The first example of this appears at the beginning of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople. Although Theophanes places this event in AM 6164—the fourth year of Constantine's reign²³⁴—Nikephoros writes that it occurred "immediately" (εὐθὺς) after he assumed power.²³⁵ Since Theophanes is known to have manipulated his chronology, there is no reason to doubt Nikephoros' assertion that Constantine's accession and the invasion occurred almost concurrently—especially since this interpretation agrees with the eastern and Arabic sources, which indicate that the Umayyad invasions gained

212. See ANTONOPOULOS, *The history* (quoted n. 17), p. 199; ΤΡΕΣΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 616.

213. Theoph. AM 6209, p. 395.18; AM 6210, p. 399.6–7.

214. See I. HIGGINS, *Philippikos and the Greens in East: Margins and metropolis: authority and the Byzantine Empire* (Princeton 2013), pp. 179–91, here at pp. 185–6, who suggests that this date was significant because it implies that, at the time of Bardanes' blinding, all the notables would have been in the city for the feast of Pentecost.

215. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 383.14–1, 17–23.

216. Nikeph. Arm. § 31.2, pp. 89 ff.

600.²²⁰ It appears, therefore, that there was originally no break in the narrative between Constantine's accession and the beginning of the siege. In a similar example Theophanes records that Justinian transferred his cavalry to Thrace in AM 6179, but only records his attack on the Slavs and Bulgars the following year, in AM 6180.²²¹ Nikephoros, however, writes that Justinian invaded the Bulgars and Slavs "immediately" after the arrival of the cavalry in Thrace.²²² On this basis, it may be speculated that no break originally appeared here either.

The same is true of the narrative of Justinian's return to power, which Theophanes divides over three years. Although George the Monk also divides this section of the narrative—albeit by emperor, rather than year—he does so at a different place to Theophanes. While Theophanes concludes the year AM 6196 with Justinian stationing his fleet at Cherson,²²³ George the Monk ends his short account on the reign of Apsimaros with the following: "Then Apsimaros, having learned this, fled to Apollonia."²²⁴ By contrast, Theophanes does not mention Apsimaros' flight to Apollonia until the second sentence of the entry for AM 6198.²²⁵ If the entries in the *Chronicle* were divided by year throughout this section, it can be expected that Theophanes and George the Monk would both have broken the narrative at exactly the same place. The difference suggests that this narrative was not originally divided over three years. If, as Freidgold argues,²²⁶ Theophanes has divided the text to reflect the chronology accurately—conveniently concluding both AM 6196 and AM 6197 with expected prompts, namely "in the coming year" (τῷ ἐρχομένῳ χρόνῳ)²²⁷ and "in a short time" (κατὰ ὀλίγον)²²⁸—this is probably not due to any divisions that appeared in the *Chronicle* itself.

Overall, this evidence suggests that the *Chronicle of Justinian II* was not dated systematically. Rather, the only evidence of a dating system is Nikephoros' consistent habit of mentioning how many years each emperor reigned when they die or are otherwise mentioned. This is a consistent feature throughout these sections, but there is otherwise little evidence that it was a year-by-year account of each emperor's reign. In terms of structure, it probably more closely resembled Nikephoros' and George the Monk's accounts than the one preserved in Theophanes' *Chronographia*.

²²⁰ For example, *The History of al-Fihri*, 18, *Between civil wars*, (transl. and annotated by C. E. Bosworth, Oxford, 1987), pp. 94–5, which mentions that Yazid b. Mu'awiya "reached Constantinople accompanied by Jafar the Umayyad, Ibn al-Zuhayr, and Abu Ayub al-Ansari"; Mich. Freidgold, *The First Arab Siege of Constantinople: The Dating of the First Saracen Siege of Constantinople*, pp. 247–250, 302–303, 318, who argues that a major Umayyad invasion occurred in 648.

²²¹ Theoph., *Chron.*, 190, AM 6179, p. 364.5–7; *Imperator*, AM 6180, p. 366.11–8.

²²² Nikeph., *Chron.*, 1, pp. 77–8.

²²³ Theoph., *Chron.*, 196, AM 6196, p. 368.11–12.

²²⁴ George the Monk, *Chron.*, 1, pp. 171–2.

²²⁵ Theoph., *Chron.*, 198, AM 6198, p. 370.11–12.

²²⁶ Freidgold, *The First Arab Siege of Constantinople*, pp. 247–250, 302–303, 318.

²²⁷ Theoph., *Chron.*, 196, AM 6196, p. 368.11–12.

²²⁸ Theoph., *Chron.*, 197, AM 6197, p. 369.11–12.

This reading has an immediate impact on how we interpret the chronology of this period. Ever since the time that Theophanes composed his work, his chronology of the late seventh and eighth centuries has more or less been accepted. The alternative reading offered here puts these dates into question. If we are to believe that his main source throughout this period was a continuous and largely undated narrative, then it follows that he must have been guessing the dates of all the events that occurred in between, unless he was using another source as a guide. His dates, therefore, cannot be trusted unless qualified by a separate source.

4. THE AUTHOR

The final task taken upon here is to outline the significant themes that appear throughout the *Chronicle*, and to consider the identity of its author. This is not a comprehensive review of every aspect of this source and everything that can be speculated about its author—that is the task of a much more detailed analysis—but it may nevertheless be helpful to draw some points from this reconstruction.

It is possible to speculate when he was active, and possibly even which events fell within his living memory. To begin, his account on the reign of Constantine IV is extremely brief, selective, chronologically disordered,²²⁹ which suggests that he carried out minimal (if any) research on these earlier years and recalled little of them personally;²³⁰ indeed, his account of the first Saracen siege of seven years has so little in common with eastern accounts that it might well represent a popular legend.²³¹ It is only upon the accession of Justinian II that his account becomes more detailed, although the information remains scanty even here.²³² On the contrary, the precision and detail of his account on the revolt in Cherson in 710/711 and the blinding of Philippikos Bardanes suggests a detailed knowledge of these events.²³³ Overall, this suggests that his knowledge of politics before c. 685 was very sketchy indeed, perhaps because he was very young at the time—perhaps born in the 670s or early 680s—or otherwise not involved in politics. On the other hand, given that his account ended in or after 716, he must have been writing during the earliest years of Leo III's reign.

His writing reveals much about his views. He was evidently opposed to Monothelitism—given his positive treatment of the Sixth Ecumenical Council²³⁴ and his personal attack on Philippikos Bardanes.²³⁵ He was probably also based in Constantinople itself for much of that time, since the *Chronicle* has little interest in provincial affairs.²³⁶ He had presumably

²²⁶ Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 302.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7.

²²⁸ On this, see Jankowiak, *The First Arab Siege* (quoted n. 1), p. 252.

²²⁹ Triantafyllidis, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 593; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 301.

²³⁰ Makris, in Nikeph., *Brev.*, p. 205 (68 *ad loc.*); Triantafyllidis, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 592; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 305–6.

²³¹ Theoph., AM 6171, pp. 356.18–358.11.

²³² *Ibid.*, AM 6203, p. 381.23–32—see Triantafyllidis, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 592.

²³³ Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7. This study will not, however, go so far as to suggest—as does Triantafyllidis, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 618—that the writer was "a native and lifelong resident of Constantinople," since this would be to pass well into the realm of speculation.

absorbed a good literary education for his time.²⁴⁴ There are not only numerous references to the Old Testament in sections derived from his work, but there could also be deliberate Homeric echoes in his lengthy digression on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria" and his account of the legendary seven-year first siege of Constantinople, "with thrust and counter thrust," could be an echo of the siege of Troy.²⁴⁵

Howard-Johnston was quite right to suggest that the *Chronicle* "bespeaks a devouting interest in politics."²⁴⁶ At this, the writer was not only concerned about politics but must have belonged to the uppermost tenets of society,²⁴⁷ since he gives a curiously detailed knowledge of the events that occurred within the Palace itself—including Stephen the Persian's flogging of the eunuch Anastasios²⁴⁸ and Philippikos Bardanes' profane lifestyle.²⁴⁹ He might have had direct insight into the affairs of the Palace—perhaps as a Palace eunuch or a close relation of Justinian II—or may otherwise have been a civic dignitary with good connections. His high regard for education suggests that he might well have been one of the educated men whom Anastasios II promoted to civic office.²⁵⁰

A central feature of the narrative was the contrast between the "good" Constantine IV and the "bad" Justinian II. The former he praises for devoting himself to peace,²⁵¹ while the latter he scorns at length for violence towards his subjects and other rulers alike. His opinions on the other emperors are often also blatant. He was sympathetic towards Leo III,²⁵² since he emphasises his past success as a general²⁵³ and the loyalty of his friends and subjects;²⁵⁴ he disapproved of the "terrible scheme" that brought Tiberios Apsimarios to power,²⁵⁵ although he conceded that his brother Herakleios was a "most capable" general;²⁵⁶ he disliked Philippikos Bardanes because he was an incompetent heretic, although he conceded he was well-educated.²⁵⁷ He also praised Anastasios Artemios for promoting worthy men to important posts²⁵⁸ and disliked the "lawless" Opsikian soldiers who forced Theodosios III into power, although he ultimately depicted Theodosios himself as ineffective.²⁵⁹

Equally as revealing is what the chronicler did not write. While he spends some time praising Constantine IV for his repulsion of the Saracens and the Sixth Ecumenical Council, very little mention—if any—was made of his gruesome treatment of his brothers and their supporters.²⁶⁰ While emphasising Justinian's massacres and suggesting that he "was at the height of his mania" immediately before he was killed,²⁶¹ he fails to mention a number of significant events that occurred during his reign, presumably because they did not compliment his strongly negative depiction of Justinian elsewhere. There is no mention of the Quinisext Council (691/2),²⁶² nor the resulting conflicts with Rome in the final years of his first reign, nor his execution of officials from Ravenna in 709, nor even of Pope Constantine's visit to Constantinople in 710, as detailed in the *Liber Pontificalis*.²⁶³ Since it is most likely that the writer was aware of the deficiencies of his account, the omissions show that he twisted recent history to suit his needs, and his *Chronicle* certainly was not remotely objective.

At this point it becomes necessary to consider a possible identity of this elusive author: one Trajan the Patrician.²⁶⁴ Trajan's existence is known only from the following entry in the *Suda*:

*Trajan the patrician flourished under Justinian the slit-nosed. He wrote a very admirable Concise chronicle (χρονικὸν σύντομον). He was also very Christian and very Orthodox.*²⁶⁵

From this diminutive entry, only four things can be deduced about the so-called "Trajan": (1) he held the honorary rank of patrician; (2) he was "at his prime" during the reign of Justinian II (685–95, 705–11), and—since this emperor is referred to as *ῥινομήτης*—most probably during his second reign (705–11); (3) he was of the Orthodox faith; and (4) he wrote a *χρονικὸν σύντομον* ("concise chronicle"), which the compiler of the *Suda* considered "very admirable."²⁶⁶

250. If included, of course, the sole mention of Constantine's depose of his brothers was reproduced at Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23, although this, for stylistic reasons, might well have been written by a different hand; the other reference at AM 6173, p. 360.18–20 was drawn from Theophanes' eastern source, which described Constantine's brutal treatment of his brothers' supporters—particularly a certain Leo—in gruesome detail; see Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 435 f., *Chron.* 1234, transl., II, p. 225.

251. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 368.18. For his exaggerations, see in particular his assertion that Justinian massacred 10,000 Slavic mercenaries (AM 6184, p. 366.21–3; Georg. Mon., p. 730.3–15), was overjoyed when 73,000 Romans died in a shipwreck (AM 6203, p. 378.14–18), and killed an ἀνυπάρχοντων ἀκρίβος ("innumerable multitude", AM 6198, p. 375.16–27) upon his return to power in 705. See also HEAD, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), pp. 14–8; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 305–6; Treadgold, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 619.

252. AM 6201. The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 19–20; HEAD, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), p. 70.

253. *LP*, pp. 389 f.

254. Treadgold, *Trajan the Patrician* (quoted n. 4), p. 595.

255. *Suda*, t. 901.

256. For a contrary argument, see C. de Boor, *Der Historiker Trajanus*, *Herme* 17/3, 1882, pp. 489–92, who argues that the author of the *Suda* confused two separate "Trajans," one of whom was an Orthodox Christian who wrote in the Gothic wars of the fourth century, the other of whom lived in the eighth century and wrote a history, and is featured in *PLRE* I, pp. 921 f., s.v. Trajanus 2. Cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1334, s.v. Trajanus 3, who lived in the later sixth century under Justin II and did in fact hold the rank of Patrician, and thus theoretically might have been the one mentioned in the *Suda*. De

244. Theophrastus, *De Patricio* (quoted n. 4), p. 618.

245. As suggested by Theophrastus. *The First Act of War* (quoted n. 1), p. 252.

246. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 306.

247. Theophrastus, *De Patricio* (quoted n. 4), p. 618; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7.

248. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

249. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

250. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

251. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225; AM 6171, p. 359.25–8; Niceph., *Presb.*, pp. 100–1.

252. Theophrastus, *De Patricio* (quoted n. 4), p. 619. He was ambivalent about Leo III.

253. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

254. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225; AM 6198, p. 375.16–27; Subjects (in Constantinople): *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

255. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

256. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225.

257. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225; AM 6198, p. 375.16–27; Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.

258. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225; AM 6198, p. 375.16–27; Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.

259. *Chron.* 1234, p. 225; AM 6198, p. 375.16–27; Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.

and some bits of archival material, probably from the archives of the patriarchal throne and some letters that the relevant passages in the last century are in the year 714/25 (the transfer of Germanos to the patriarchate, AM 6207); 784/5 (the appointment of Ignatios as patriarch, AM 6277) and 787/8 (the Acts of the Council of 787, AM 6280).

Thinking by way of the period after the 720s, we have only #14 and #18 as main sources, together with a few other bits of material. After AM 6280 (787/8), Mango admits that it is highly likely that he (Theophanes) had certain written documents before him.¹³ But given that he discusses the topic stating that such a discussion "would call for a great deal of open-minded looking at to any solid conclusions,"¹⁴ Thus, while most scholars are inclined to have Theophanes sources for this period,¹⁵ they agree that he used several. Some scholars have thought of Theophanes as active and involved in the actual writing of his chronicle. Unwittingly, for example, understands Theophanes as an author who had literary skills but whose writing was constantly in tension between dividing his sources chronologically and providing a full, coherent narrative.¹⁶ Duker saw Theophanes as a gifted editor who created the techniques that allowed him to compile his chronicle from various other sources into his own chronicle with little being "understandable."¹⁷ But recent general opinion of Theophanes' editorial activity has been complicated by Dmitry Afanogenov's words: "any significant editorial discharge seems to me highly unlikely."¹⁸ Proudfoot and Ševčenko would see the Theophanes as essentially a "scissors-and-paste compiler, even if the most sophisticated made his clippings."¹⁹ This approach was taken to an extreme

by Mango, who argued that George Synkellos wrote almost all the *Chronographia* and that Theophanes did not edit any significant parts of the chronicle published under his name.²⁰ He argued that "it is practically impossible to determine what portions were written by the author [of the chronicle],"²¹ a point we will return to later.²² A third group of modern scholars argued that Theophanes received a significant amount of the chronicle from Synkellos,²³ and afterwards continued to incorporate material which he edited or altered to suit his own ideological concerns, but also included material which he did not fully understand.²⁴

The subject of this exploratory paper is to determine whether Theophanes was involved in the writing of the chronicle carrying his name for the period 714–813, and if so, in what manner. While the approach is hardly novel, I believe my methodology is. In the rest of the paper I will touch upon four kinds of textual markers which appear in Theophanes' chronicle and discuss their variations within the *Chronicle*, mainly with regards to the period which is of interest to me. These markers are first person references, date references, Theophanes' use of adjectives and the appearance of religious supernatural figures in the text. I chose to examine the first of these markers assuming that first person references should be more common when Theophanes himself was more involved in the writing his chronicle. This would naturally be closer to his own times. I chose the other three markers after I read through the chronicle and noticed their prevalence in its later part in general, and especially their connection to the first person references I found.

METHODOLOGY

In the remainder of this paper I shall compare parts of the chronicle with regards to certain literary markers. Since our focus will be on the final century, 714–813 (AM 6206–305), there are two methods of comparison that we could employ. The first of these would be a comparison by time, which would consist in dividing the chronicle roughly into century-long segments and then comparing them over time. The second method would be a comparison based on the proportion of the last century to the earlier part of the chronicle, according to pages in de Boor's edition, the latter including 501 pages of Greek text. The first part of the chronicle, from AM 5777 to AM 6205 (hereby

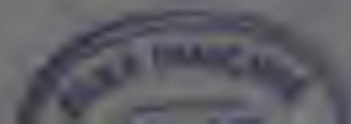
13. Mango, *Who wrote the Chronicle the Chronicle*, p. 16; Mango – Scott, pp. li–lii; Hovland, *Theophanes*, pp. 7–10; P. Snick, *A more charitable verdict: Rev. N. G. Wilson, Scholar of Byzantium*, London 1983, *Klio* 68, 1986, pp. 15–25, repr. with an English transl. in *Byzantine Studies in Byzantine historical sources*, ed. by S. Takács, Aldershot 2003, pp. 163–78, at p. 178. For the opposite view, see Kozmow, *Byzantium in 8. Jh.* For the view that another Theophanes was the author of the chronicle, see already Duker, *A study in Byzantine historiography* (quoted n. 10).

14. Mango, *Who wrote the Chronicle*, p. 17.

15. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine revival 780–842*, Stanford 1988, pp. 378–88 and 459, n. 512. For the revival of Byzantine learning and the revival of the Byzantine state, *The American historical review* 84/5, 1979, pp. 1215–50; B. Baldwin, *Theophanes on the Iconoclasm of Leo III*, *Bjz.* 60, 1990, pp. 126–8; Hovland, *Theophanes*, pp. 7–10, seems to ascribe the work to Synkellos.

16. L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era, ca. 680–850. The sources as interpreted* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman monographs 7), Aldershot 2001, p. 168.

17. For this view and a discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 168 ff. See also J. Haldon and J. Brubaker, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era, c. 680–850. A history*, Cambridge 2011, p. 152, n. 94.



part B is somewhat (73 pages) longer, and, while the second part, AM 6206 to AM 6303 (part B), is 123, it is less than a quarter of the entire chronicle. More precisely, the expected ratio of frequency markers of A to B should be 3.15:1.²⁰ The following

A and B by number of pages) since it emphasizes the last century. However, I have also applied information divided by century and analyzed it when relevant.

Finally, I have used the Poisson statistical test, which studies the probability of a given number of rare events occurring in a given interval of time or space, assuming that these events occur with a known average rate at any time. Following common practice in statistical analysis, I have chosen to discard results with a probability of occurrence in relation to the expected frequency (p -value) higher than a set significance level, $\alpha = 0.05$; at the risk of oversimplification, this means to discard results with more than a 5% probability of being observed by chance.²¹

FIRST PERSON REFERENCES

Theophanes' chronicle mainly deals with events that were very distant chronologically from the author. It is therefore understandable that it is written almost entirely in third person and that the author includes himself in the narrative only three times. These first person vignettes appear in the description of the winter of AM 6255, in the account of the translation of the martyr Euphemia's relics to Constantinople (AM 6258), and in the report of information received directly from a patrician named Theodosios (AM 6303). However, there are also several cases in which the chronicler calls upon his readers using the first person plural form ("we, us, our"²²) or presents his own observations in the first person singular form ("I, me") as a means to catch the reader's attention. We can divide these cases into two main subgroups. The first subgroup are editor's notes, usually in a form resembling "which we have previously mentioned" (ὃν πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν) or "as I have said" (ὡς προέφην). The remaining first person references often imply identification with the reader, such as in "against us Christians" (καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν), "our countrymen" (οἱ ἡμέτεροι), or "because of our sins" (διὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἡμῶν). Almost all these cases include first person pronouns, while others, in my view, strongly imply such a relation with the reader without explicitly using a first person pronoun (for example τῶν ὁμοφύλων or πατριπαραδότου πίστεν). Now, there is indeed a significant difference in the number of first person references of both groups between the two parts of Theophanes' chronicle.²³

Altogether, I found twenty editor's notes in the chronicle, not including the preface. Twelve appear in part A, the remaining eight in part B.²⁴ The results are organized in Table 3 below. Since the expected value for part B is $12/3.15 = 3.81$, editorial remarks appear more

the Poisson test (explained below), the result would not be significant (p -value = 0.103), while in the second case it would appear to be (p -value = 0.015).

20. For the complex calculations behind the p -value in the following tests I have resorted to the online application by Allan Chang at http://www.statstodo.com/PoissonTest_Pgm.php (accessed 12 January 2015), entering each time the expected frequency as λ and the one observed for the rare reference under consideration as k . For the description of a similar program, see K. Kruschasmann, "Hypothesis testing about proportions in two finite populations," *The American Statistician* 56, 2002, pp. 215–22.

21. I am disregarding references to "our Lord Jesus Christ."

22. First person references in direct speeches have also not been taken into account.

23. In part A: Theoph., pp. 11, 21, 18, 1, 33, 22, 52, 22, 102, 13, 108, 3–4, 117, 11, 118, 2, 135, 23–4, 192, 7, 332, 12, 336, 15. In part B: pp. 409, 15, 413, 1–2, 424, 10, 440, 30, 461, 15, 477, 1, 489, 29, 492, 1.

Table 1. *Table 1: Comparing part A and part B by pages.*

Part	Pages	Number of pages in de Boor	Page numbers in de Boor
A	281	4	6–11
B	123	67	15–81
C	108	78	82–159
D	104	141	160–301
E	100	83	302–383
F	126	120	384–503
Total	742	433	

Table 2. *Table 2: Comparing part A and part B by pages.*

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and more frequently than expected ($8/3.81 = 2.1$). As such, this is already significant ($p\text{-value} = 0.04$). This findings suggest that Theophanes was more involved in the last part of the chronicle, no doubt partly because it dealt with his own times. However, a much stronger case appears when we check both parts of the chronicle with regards to the other group of first person references, where, as I suggested above, Theophanes seeks to identify with the reader. While in part A there are nine such references, there are twenty-six in part B.²⁵ To the latter number one should add the three aforementioned passages in part B, in which the author speaks about himself or tells a personal recollection. In any case, the number of such references in the second part is about 9 times the expected value of $9/3.15 = 2.86$ and the result is clearly significant ($p\text{-value} < 0.0001$).

Interval	Editor's notes	Other first person references	Ratio ²⁶
AM 6206–6212.3, AM 5777–5805 (9 pages, 29.5 years)	1	2	0.22
AM 6213–6218, AM 5806–605 (67 pages, 160 years)	3	5	0.075
AM 6219–6223, AM 5806–605 (75 pages, 160 years)	5	0	0
AM 6224–6225, AM 5806–605 (241 pages, 160 years)	1	0	0
AM 6226–6227, AM 5806–605 (83 pages, 160 years)	2	2	0.02
Chronicle Part A (74 pages, 429.5 years)	12	9	0.024
AM 6228–6233, AM 6206–605 (120 pages, 160 years)	8	26	0.217
Total (498 pages, 529.5 years)	20	35	0.070

Table 3 – Comparing editor's notes and other first person references.

²⁶ Calculated by dividing the number of first person references by number of pages.

Furthermore, the first person references are not distributed evenly within the second part either. Almost one third of the mentions (7 out of 26) appear in the period between AM 6206 and AM 6218 while more than half of them (14 out of 26) appear near the chronicle's end, between AM 6295 and AM 6305. The other five references appear in the space interval between those two periods, as is shown in the following graph. References in the periods AM 6206–18 and 6295–305 also share common themes, with seven out of ten first person references dealing with "our sins" (i.e. $\pi\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu, \acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$

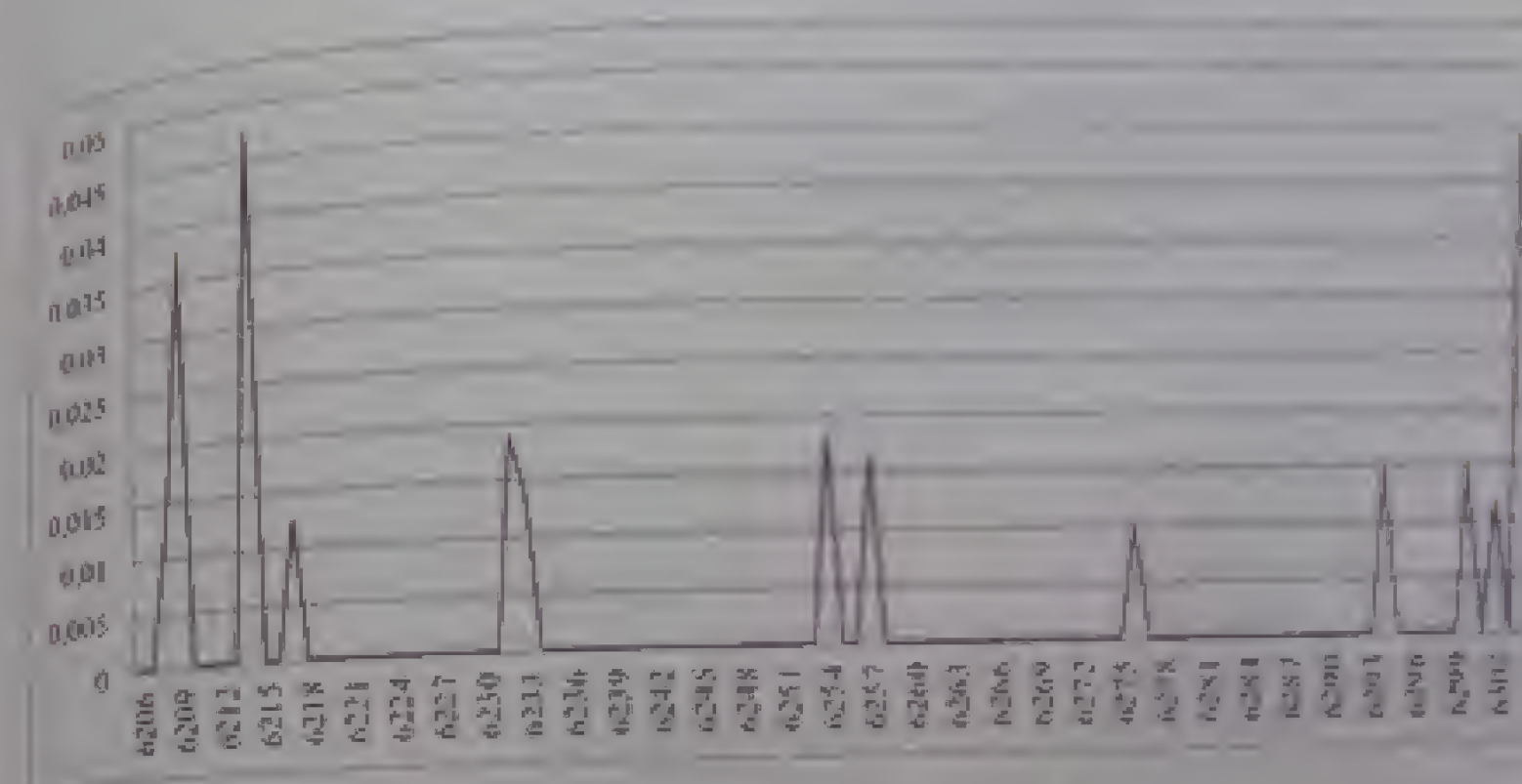


Fig. 1 – First person references per line.

$\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$),²⁷ two in the first and five in the second period. Another common theme is common citizenship, with references to "our countrymen" or "our men" (i.e. $\text{o}\iota \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\rho\text{o}\iota, \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$), appearing three times in the first and two times in the second period.

The similarities between AM 6209–18 and AM 6295–305 are surprising, since Theophanes used different sources for the beginning of the larger AM 6206–305 period.²⁸ We can attribute them to either chance—Theophanes used two sources which happened to be very similar in this regard—or to Theophanes' own writing. The second possibility will prove to be the right one.

Finally, there is the question of the author's personal recollections. In an influent article, Cyril Mango attributed them to George Synkellos, whose work Theophanes claims in the preface to be continuing. This hypothesis assumes that Theophanes was simply editing material given to him by George. There are several problems with this hypothesis, some of which were noted by Mango himself.²⁹ An overlooked issue is that Synkellos' presence as a chronicler throughout his own work is very different from the chronicler's presence in Theophanes'. An in-depth discussion of this issue would be far beyond the scope of this paper, but a few brief notes will suffice. Thus, for example, Synkellos addresses the reader several times using the second person ($\epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon$ at Georg. Syncl., pp. 105.29, 201.3, 245.11) or $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ at 295.10) and appears to include him in the first person hortative plural ("let

25. It should be noted that the same mention can be found in the earlier AM 5853, "In this year Julian the transgressor became emperor and sole ruler because of the mass of our sins..." Presumably, this is an addition made by Theophanes to his source.

26. Namely the lack of evidence concerning Synkellos' biography; see MANGO. Who wrote the Chronicle. The fact that the both sections under discussion share neither frequency nor theme of first person references suggests that they were not taken from the same written source material. See MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lxxii–lxxxviii, listing no specific source that might cover this entire period, but rather a larger amount of briefer sources. See also SMITH, *Kaiser Konstantin VII* (quoted n. 8), pp. 389–97, who proposed eleven sources over twenty-two years. ANTONOSOV, The source (quoted n. 11), arguing for one source covering about thirty years. See S. FINESTRA's paper in this volume.

27. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lviii–lx.

28. See e.g. SCOTT, pp. 103, 121, 132, 376, 463, 527, 581, 332, 10, 333, 12. In part B, SCOTT lists 26 references: pp. 405.26–7, 405.26–7, 414.17, 417.14–5, 434.7, 439.21, 460.28, 461.28, 462.28, 463.28, 464.28, 465.28, 466.28, 467.28, 468.28, 469.28, 470.28, 471.28, 472.28, 473.28, 474.28, 475.28, 476.28, 477.28, 478.28, 479.28, 480.28, 481.28, 482.28, 483.28, 484.28, 485.28, 486.28, 487.28, 488.28, 489.28, 490.28, 491.28, 492.28, 493.28, 494.28, 495.28, 496.28, 497.28, 498.28, 499.28, 500.28, 501.28, 502.28, 503.28, 504.28, 505.28, 506.28, 507.28, 508.28, 509.28, 510.28, 511.28, 512.28, 513.28, 514.28, 515.28, 516.28, 517.28, 518.28, 519.28, 520.28, 521.28, 522.28, 523.28, 524.28, 525.28, 526.28, 527.28, 528.28, 529.28, 530.28, 531.28, 532.28, 533.28, 534.28, 535.28, 536.28, 537.28, 538.28, 539.28, 540.28, 541.28, 542.28, 543.28, 544.28, 545.28, 546.28, 547.28, 548.28, 549.28, 550.28, 551.28, 552.28, 553.28, 554.28, 555.28, 556.28, 557.28, 558.28, 559.28, 560.28, 561.28, 562.28, 563.28, 564.28, 565.28, 566.28, 567.28, 568.28, 569.28, 570.28, 571.28, 572.28, 573.28, 574.28, 575.28, 576.28, 577.28, 578.28, 579.28, 580.28, 581.28, 582.28, 583.28, 584.28, 585.28, 586.28, 587.28, 588.28, 589.28, 590.28, 591.28, 592.28, 593.28, 594.28, 595.28, 596.28, 597.28, 598.28, 599.28, 600.28, 601.28, 602.28, 603.28, 604.28, 605.28, 606.28, 607.28, 608.28, 609.28, 610.28, 611.28, 612.28, 613.28, 614.28, 615.28, 616.28, 617.28, 618.28, 619.28, 620.28, 621.28, 622.28, 623.28, 624.28, 625.28, 626.28, 627.28, 628.28, 629.28, 630.28, 631.28, 632.28, 633.28, 634.28, 635.28, 636.28, 637.28, 638.28, 639.28, 640.28, 641.28, 642.28, 643.28, 644.28, 645.28, 646.28, 647.28, 648.28, 649.28, 650.28, 651.28, 652.28, 653.28, 654.28, 655.28, 656.28, 657.28, 658.28, 659.28, 660.28, 661.28, 662.28, 663.28, 664.28, 665.28, 666.28, 667.28, 668.28, 669.28, 670.28, 671.28, 672.28, 673.28, 674.28, 675.28, 676.28, 677.28, 678.28, 679.28, 680.28, 681.28, 682.28, 683.28, 684.28, 685.28, 686.28, 687.28, 688.28, 689.28, 690.28, 691.28, 692.28, 693.28, 694.28, 695.28, 696.28, 697.28, 698.28, 699.28, 700.28, 701.28, 702.28, 703.28, 704.28, 705.28, 706.28, 707.28, 708.28, 709.28, 710.28, 711.28, 712.28, 713.28, 714.28, 715.28, 716.28, 717.28, 718.28, 719.28, 720.28, 721.28, 722.28, 723.28, 724.28, 725.28, 726.28, 727.28, 728.28, 729.28, 730.28, 731.28, 732.28, 733.28, 734.28, 735.28, 736.28, 737.28, 738.28, 739.28, 740.28, 741.28, 742.28, 743.28, 744.28, 745.28, 746.28, 747.28, 748.28, 749.28, 750.28, 751.28, 752.28, 753.28, 754.28, 755.28, 756.28, 757.28, 758.28, 759.28, 760.28, 761.28, 762.28, 763.28, 764.28, 765.28, 766.28, 767.28, 768.28, 769.28, 770.28, 771.28, 772.28, 773.28, 774.28, 775.28, 776.28, 777.28, 778.28, 779.28, 780.28, 781.28, 782.28, 783.28, 784.28, 785.28, 786.28, 787.28, 788.28, 789.28, 790.28, 791.28, 792.28, 793.28, 794.28, 795.28, 796.28, 797.28, 798.28, 799.28, 800.28, 801.28, 802.28, 803.28, 804.28, 805.28, 806.28, 807.28, 808.28, 809.28, 810.28, 811.28, 812.28, 813.28, 814.28, 815.28, 816.28, 817.28, 818.28, 819.28, 820.28, 821.28, 822.28, 823.28, 824.28, 825.28, 826.28, 827.28, 828.28, 829.28, 830.28, 831.28, 832.28, 833.28, 834.28, 835.28, 836.28, 837.28, 838.28, 839.28, 840.28, 841.28, 842.28, 843.28, 844.28, 845.28, 846.28, 847.28, 848.28, 849.28, 850.28, 851.28, 852.28, 853.28, 854.28, 855.28, 856.28, 857.28, 858.28, 859.28, 860.28, 861.28, 862.28, 863.28, 864.28, 865.28, 866.28, 867.28, 868.28, 869.28, 870.28, 871.28, 872.28, 873.28, 874.28, 875.28, 876.28, 877.28, 878.28, 879.28, 880.28, 881.28, 882.28, 883.28, 884.28, 885.28, 886.28, 887.28, 888.28, 889.28, 890.28, 891.28, 892.28, 893.28, 894.28, 895.28, 896.28, 897.28, 898.28, 899.28, 900.28, 901.28, 902.28, 903.28, 904.28, 905.28, 906.28, 907.28, 908.28, 909.28, 910.28, 911.28, 912.28, 913.28, 914.28, 915.28, 916.28, 917.28, 918.28, 919.28, 920.28, 921.28, 922.28, 923.28, 924.28, 925.28, 926.28, 927.28, 928.28, 929.28, 930.28, 931.28, 932.28, 933.28, 934.28, 935.28, 936.28, 937.28, 938.28, 939.28, 940.28, 941.28, 942.28, 943.28, 944.28, 945.28, 946.28, 947.28, 948.28, 949.28, 950.28, 951.28, 952.28, 953.28, 954.28, 955.28, 956.28, 957.28, 958.28, 959.28, 960.28, 961.28, 962.28, 963.28, 964.28, 965.28, 966.28, 967.28, 968.28, 969.28, 970.28, 971.28, 972.28, 973.28, 974.28, 975.28, 976.28, 977.28, 978.28, 979.28, 980.28, 981.28, 982.28, 983.28, 984.28, 985.28, 986.28, 987.28, 988.28, 989.28, 990.28, 991.28, 992.28, 993.28, 994.28, 995.28, 996.28, 997.28, 998.28, 999.28, 1000.28.

as... for examples see μετέλθομεν at p. 43.4, ἐπεσθόμεν at 48.2, ἐπιστημιώμεθα at 469.12-13, while I have found no evidence for Theophanes doing either of these. Synkellos is also much more active as a chronicler in his text, providing evidence for his claims, leading the reader, and discussing his opinions and hypotheses at length in a seemingly scientific method (see for examples pp. 121, 136, 233, 240).

Mango provided two main pieces of evidence in support of his claim concerning Synkellos' authorship. First, Theophanes twice mentions the monastery of St. Chariton before the more important monastery of St. Sabas. The second piece of evidence concerns a specific first person reference, in which the author refers to "us," Christians, as opposed to "them," Arabs (AM 6301, p. 484.19), supposedly written by Synkellos, who was "an émigré from Palestine."²⁸ Mango does not discuss in this context other first person references that illustrate the author's identification with the empire and especially with Constantinople. For example, the author also writes "in our land" (κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, p. 434.7) referring to the location of the harsh winter of AM 6255, which is later revealed to correspond to Constantinople and Asia Minor. The aforementioned references to "our countrymen" are other hints which point to the author's identification with Constantinople and the Eastern Roman state in general (AM 6209, 6210, 6218, 6305) rather than specifically with the Christians of Palestine.²⁹ Taken together, this evidence strongly suggests that Synkellos and the author of Theophanes' chronicle were not the same individual.

DATES

Another possible marker of authorship in the chronicle is the frequent dating by Roman months. There is no significant difference in the amount of times each month is mentioned, as can be seen in Table 4 below. The most commonly mentioned month is October (36 occurrences), while the least mentioned is July (19). However, there is in this respect an interesting difference between the two parts of the chronicle: part A has 159 mentions of months while part B has 120. If we divide this amounts by the number of pages we find that months appear in the second part of the chronicle more than three times more frequently than one would expect. This result is statistically significant ($p\text{-value} < 0.0001$).

We can speculate about possible reasons for such a difference. One obvious possibility is that it stems purely from the source material. Generally speaking, the sources Theophanes used for part A of his chronicle are different from those used for part B. Further evidence is to be found in Table 5 below, which observes the distribution of the occurrences of dates over centuries. The last century is clearly seen to display more month dates than any of the previous ones.³⁰

²⁸ Mango, *Source*, pp. 463-4.

²⁹ It is worth noting that Synkellos also saw himself as "an East Roman" in the empire and emphasized a certain Palestinian identity. This is possible, but one must prove this through Synkellos' own words (AM 6006-007 [AM 5134-6] 22a) or other evidence, which is the longest one in terms of page number of dates by the month found in the chronicle's text ($p\text{-value} < 0.0001$). Moreover, one should

	Part A AM 5777-6205 AD 284/5-712/3	Part B AM 6206-305 AD 713/4-812/3	Total
January	10	11	21
February	11	10	21
March	14	7	21
April	15	11	26
May	13	19	32
June	9	16	25
July	11	8	19
August	15	16	31
September	13	18	31
October	19	17	36
November	13	11	24
December	16	9	25
Overall mentions	159	120	279
Number of pages	378	120	498
Average per page	0.42	1.28	0.65

Table 4. Dating by months.

Intervals	Dates by month	Ratio by cent.	Ratio by page
AD 284/5-312/3, AM 5777-805 (19 pages, 29.5 years)	0	0	0
AM 313/4-412/3, AM 5806-905 (67 pages, 100 years)	9	0.09	0.13
AD 413/4-512/3, AM 5906-1005 (178 pages, 100 years)	13	0.13	0.17
AD 513/4-612/3, AM 6006-1105 (141 pages, 100 years)	10	0.07	0.70
AD 613/4-712/3, AM 6106-205 (83 pages, 100 years)	26	0.26	0.31
Overall Part A (378 pages, 429.5 years)	159	0.42	0.42
AD 713/4-812/3, AM 6206-305 (120 pages, 100 years)	120	1.28	1.28
Total (498 pages, 529.5 years)	279	0.59	0.65

Table 5. Dates by years and number of pages.

remember that Theophanes had both *Makidas* and *Chronicon Paschale* as sources for this period, and they presumably had more dates by months than most of Theophanes' other sources.

Period	"Holy" adjectives	Ratio by pages	Ratio by years
AM 5902–6094 (1193 AD 5777–5969) (19 pages, 193 years)	4	0.14	0.14
AM 6094–6206 (1123 AD 5869–902) (12 pages, 109 years)	81	1.21	0.81
AM 6206–6245 (1123 AD 5981–6020) (19 pages, 100 years)	68	0.87	0.68
AM 6245–6273 (1123 AD 6020–105) (19 pages, 100 years)	48	0.34	0.48
AM 6273–6305 (1123 AD 6020–205) (10 pages, 110 years)	35	0.42	0.35
Overall Part A (120 pages, 628 years)	236	0.62	0.55
AM 6305–6344 (1123 AD 6020–645) (1 page, 133 pages, 100 years)	111	0.93	1.11
Overall (121 pages, 728 years)	347	0.70	0.66

Table 6 – "Holy" adjectives.

My point becomes even clearer when one checks the objects these adjectives are applied to. A few significant examples are represented by icons, which appear only once before AM 6246 (AM 734/3) with the adjective "holy."⁴⁹ However in the second part of the chronicle icons are referred to as "holy" eighteen times, as should probably be expected.⁵⁰ Most of these mentions (13) occur between AM 6215 and AM 6245 (AD 722/3 and AD 752/3), while the remaining five are scattered in the later sections of the chronicle, beginning only ten years later (AM 6255). Interestingly, there seems to be no mention of "holy" images around the time of the Ecumenical Council of 787.⁵¹ Moreover, the period in which "holy" icons are mentioned is quite short compared to the first period of iconoclasm. If we count the overall mentions of images and icons (i.e. the term *εἰκόνες*), similar picture emerges. In AM 6215–75, images and icons appear seventeen times overall. In AM 6246–305, however, they appear less commonly—only fourteen times.

As in the case of "holy" adjectives, when I pursue "holy" to depict certain fantastic subjects, quite different results emerge. For example, the phrase *ἁγία εἰκὼν* (holy image) appears in AM 5952, 6094, 6102, and 6113.

It is also worth noting that the phrase *ἁγία εἰκὼν* appears in thirteen out of its fourteen occurrences in the second part of the chronicle. In AM 6273 (AD 6020) and in period B more than half of these with *ἁγία*—I have also noted mentions of *ἁγία εἰκὼν* in AM 6273 (AD 6020) and 6305 (AD 6020), and with *ἁγία* in 6304. Leaving all of these mentions aside, the phrase *ἁγία εἰκὼν* appears in AM 6273 (AD 6020) and 6304 (AD 6020).

One of the most interesting mentions of *ἁγία εἰκὼν* is in AM 6273 (AD 6020), when the former patriarch Paul (I) is mentioned as "holy" (*ἁγία εἰκὼν* and *ἁγία εἰκὼν* *καὶ* *ἁγία εἰκὼν* *καὶ* *ἁγία εἰκὼν*) is discussed. The phrase *ἁγία εἰκὼν* appears in AM 6273 (AD 6020) and concerns a false hermit who was mentioned by the emperor and the holy icons' *ἁγία εἰκὼν* *καὶ* *ἁγία εἰκὼν* *καὶ* *ἁγία εἰκὼν* *καὶ* *ἁγία εἰκὼν*.

The results are summarized in the following table, with the difference between mentions of both "simple" and "holy" icons between the two periods always proving statistically significant.⁵²

	"Holy" icons	Icons overall	Ratio	Pages	Holy icons per page	Overall icons per page
AM 6215–45 AD 722/3–752/3	13	17	0.76	26.5	0.49	0.64
AM 6246–305 AD 753/4–812/3	5	14	0.35	75.5	0.06	0.19

Table 7 – Icons and "holy" icons in part B.

⁴⁹ Calculated by dividing the number of "holy" icon references by the total number of icon references.

All in all, a large number of icon references appear before iconoclasm was "formally" introduced by the Council of Hieria in 754. Interestingly, three of the four icon references without the adjective "holy" in the first period appear in AM 6218, in the story about a soldier who throws a rock at an icon. At any rate, it appears that both during the "official" phase of iconoclasm (post-Hieria) and after Orthodoxy was restored in 787 icons are mentioned much less frequently. Furthermore, Theophanes or his sources chose to emphasize icons and their holiness before the council of Hieria, very possibly as a way to create conflict in their narrative. The abrupt drop in "holy" icon references afterwards is surprising in this context and suggests that one of Theophanes' sources ended around AM 6245 (AD 752/3). We will return to these interesting findings in this paper's conclusion. It is also interesting to observe that while the previous six Ecumenical Councils are regarded as "holy" by Theophanes 40 times overall in the period AM 5797–6206, we find only one such reference to the Seventh Ecumenical Council, in which Theophanes himself probably participated.⁵³ Moreover, while some of the previous councils (especially the Fourth and the Sixth) are referred to several times after they have happened, Theophanes does not do the same with the Seventh Ecumenical Council. Also, in the *Chronographia*, the latter is not associated with the debate about icons at all.

Theophanes also uses the adjective "holy" to refer to certain people, almost all of which are related to the Church. Many references are to patriarchs (including the pope). While part A includes twenty-three such references, part B has twenty-five⁵⁴ (significant, p -value < 0.0001). This is already a significant difference when taking into consideration the amount of pages each of these parts covers in the edition. It becomes even more significant when we bear in mind that for much of part A four or five patriarchs were known and listed every year compared to only two in part B of the chronicle. From

49. The significance tests: "holy" icons by year (p -value = 0.001), "holy" icons by number of pages (p -value = 0.0001), icons overall by year (p -value = 0.0125), icons overall by number of pages (p -value = 0.0006).

50. Masao – Scotti, p. li. For example, the Fourth Ecumenical Council is called "holy" eleven times, the Sixth ten times. However, the Fifth Ecumenical Council is also described as "holy" only once.

51. One of these appears in the preface of Theophanes' work. I added it to the second group because it was written by Theophanes and refers to Tarasius.

the period in the later interval. Tarasios (eight mentions⁵⁷) and Nikephoros (seven mentions⁵⁸) are most often described as holy, followed by Germanos (five⁵⁹) and Paul of Antioch. The last-named patriarchs Anastasios, Constantine and Nikeas are mentioned at all with the adjective (rather they are called "false" and anathematized in the Council of 787, under AM 6280).

Thus, then, Theophanes' own biases and ideas are reflected in the different treatment of the period. Theophanes prefer Tarasios and Nikephoros over other patriarchs, and these are among the most positive characters in the whole *Chronographia*.⁶⁰ A reasonable explanation for this would be that Theophanes knew them personally and admired them, and had perhaps also worked under them for a while. A hint of this can be found in the prolog, where Tarasios is the only patriarch mentioned by name together with the papalistic Anastasios. Another possible hint can be found in AM 6258 (above, *Chronographia* or *Chronographia* together with "Tarasios the most holy patriarch" (*Ἱεροστάτης ἁγίου πατριάρχου*). At any rate, it seems clear that Theophanes was responsible for the high status of references to "holy" patriarchs. In addition, we should note that the three leading patriarchs were also important scholars in their generations.

Moreover, these findings strengthen the idea that Theophanes' own views shaped the chronicle. Although the evidence suggests that he did not add more than a few words, these minor additions and reductions could subtly change the overall meaning of entire paragraphs, possibly even and even the chronicle's broader narratives.⁶¹ Contrary to what we might expect, then, he did not seem to have a very important place in Theophanes' own life and he was not really focused on them. As I have shown above, he does not discuss the immediate resolution of the Council of 787, nor seems to think of the year as a very significant event. From the point of view of a modern reader interested in Byzantine history, the Council is a non-dimax. Moreover, there are signs of Theophanes' familiarity with the Council. Unlike almost all other Ecumenical Councils, Theophanes does not refer to it as a council in his narrative, while the only individuals whom he mentions positively in the eleven years are the patriarch Tarasios (once) and "the holy Father of the whole Church" (twice). Unlike in many other entries, Theophanes' contemporary bishops and emperors do not receive any adjectives.

RELIGIOUS FIGURES

Another significant difference between the two parts of the chronicle affects the appearance of religious figures in the narrative, such as the Devil or the Theotokos, who appear in certain patterns in Theophanes' work.

The Devil (*διδάσκαλος*) appears in Theophanes' chronicle six times in total, all in part B.⁶² Interestingly, this discrepancy does not affect daemons, which appear eighteen times in part A and six times in part B—almost exactly the expected ratio. Half of the mentions of the Devil are grouped in the period between AM 6273–83; the others do not seem to be related to each other. Overall, five of the six mentions of the Devil in part B deal with his interventions in the world, which are sometimes described as successful (esp. AM 6282 and 6283). Only in one case the Devil is described as weak compared to God (AM 6273). Now, the two references in AM 6282 and 6283 appear to have been taken from a single source: in both cases the Devil is successful in creating problems within the imperial family, by inspiring "certain evil men" to convince Eirene to turn against Constantine VI in the former entry and by causing soldiers to rebel in support of Constantine in the latter; in both cases the blame is placed upon other people, while the emperors are portrayed as pious—although Eirene, being a woman, is easily deceived.

In contrast to this, a reference to the Devil in AM 6234 seems to originate from Theophanes himself. This is found in a passage which shares the same source material with Nikephoros. Indeed, both authors include a moralizing comment, but their respective comments differ greatly. Thus Nikephoros simply explains that "the struggle for power between those men [Constantine V and Artabasdos] aroused an internecine war among Christians" and laments the impact of such a conflict on human nature.⁶³ Theophanes is alone in referring more precisely to murder within families, using terminology that is strongly reminiscent of a biblical excerpt.⁶⁴ I believe that Theophanes inserted this reference because of his more religious understanding of the situation, while Nikephoros kept the attitude of the original source. Likewise, a biblical allusion in connection with the Devil is found in AM 6273, where Theophanes compares the legacy of Eirene and Constantine VI's victory over Constantine V to God's overthrow of the Devil "by the weak hands of fisherman and illiterate folk," presumably referring to the Apostles.

58. AM 6234 (p. 418.7; the Devil rouses fury and mutual slaughter among Christians), 6250 (430.29; the Devil deceives some of the Magian religion who jump from walls), 6273 (459.12; Irene and Constantine's rule as the image of God's rule, reminiscent of His overthrow of the Devil), 6282 (464.10; the Devil causes Irene and Constantine to turn against each other), 6283 (466.10; the Devil causes Constantine to rise to power over his mother), and 6305 (504.18; the Devil attacks the Orthodox). In two more instances Mango's English translation names "the Devil," while the Greek has the adjective form *πονηρός* (AM 5812, regarding the Devil's intervention in causing the Arian schism; and 6070.10, AM 6208, for the Devil's machinations that cause Masabias to capture Pergamon). The word "satan" is used only once (AM 5982, for a heretic who is Satan's servant). I chose not to include these mentions in my analysis and in any case doing so would not have significantly altered the results.

59. Nikeph. *Byz.*, I, 65, pp. 134–7, with Mango's translation.

60. Mango, *Scott.*, p. 578 (AM 6234). The Devil, instigator of evil, moved to those days such fury and mutual slaughter among Christians that sons would murder their fathers without any mercy, and brothers would murder their own brothers and perfidiously burn each other's houses and homes." See for instance Luke 11:53, Matthew 10:21, 10:35–6. Other examples appear in both the Old and the New Testament.

in an effort Theophanes deals with the Devil's detrimental influence on men's Christian journey, whereas the reference to the Devil himself.²¹ It is presumably used for this event, but it should be noted that the episode has no exact parallel in the source which might have used Theophylaktos of Edessa's chronicle.²² Finally, Theophanes himself also appears to have inserted a mention of the Devil in 1046, when he later mentions certain men to enter Constantine V's tomb and to all appear that to save the state, instead of blaming the problems on their own sins. Two sources are first what appear to be the author's own interpretation – he adds that the people involved were soldiers (*epitropoi*), instead of the more general designation of "heretics" found in the opening narrative. Second, the author mentions the source that previous references in the chronicle are inferred by Theophanes himself and are not copied from his sources.

The *Thimoteos* (or *thimoteos*) also appears with varying frequency in the two parts of *Thimoteos* (document 1). Overall, she appears as an agent—as opposed to churches having her named, or mentioned in direct speech—fifteen times, only five of which are in part A (documents 1.1–1.5). Among the ten references in part B, four are grouped between AM 6245 and 6268, while the remaining two appear in AM 6311 and 6315. These early date groups—between each of which there are about three decades in which the *Thimoteos* is not mentioned—suggest that *Thimoteos* was using different sources for these periods, especially since the four mentions in the AM 6245-6315 interval are quite similar to each other and significantly different from the other *Thimoteos* references they all deal with the relations between the *Thimoteos* and *paia*, and in all of them the Byzantine emperor is mentioned—three times Constantine V, and once Leo IV, who is her friend for a short while. Four of the six remaining references deal with inter-religious relations in favor of her Christian followers. The seventh one (in epistle 1) was specifically in the *arcegyvon* (Grecian) version, and is very close. The eighth formula date was specifically in the *arcegyvon* (Grecian) version, and appears twice. These in total cases we have almost the same formula, which was used several times in the whole Chronicle. Interestingly, these references appear in different sections from each other. One of each version appears in AM 6209, another one of the two last *arcegyvon*'s appears in AM 6218—and finally another mention

of the second kind (*trouvez-vous*) appears only in AM 6305.⁶ I will try to show that theophanes added all these references to the account he found in his sources.

Given their chronological proximity, it seems safe to conclude that the first two mentions (in *AM* 6209) are related and probably drawn from the same source. Moreover, it should be noted that Nikephoros, who has a parallel chapter, does not mention the Theotokos (or God) in it. The third reference in *AM* 6218 (p. 406, 5–7) fits in quite well with the first two, as it comes after a story in which the Theotokos appears and acts, thus also dealing with the power of the Theotokos to intercede. This leaves us with the final mention of *AM* 6305—which is close in language and topic, but distant chronologically. This makes it the most interesting one since we have seen that none of Theophanes' sources for the last century of his chronicle seem to have spanned such a wide period.

One might argue that such mentions of the Theotokos occurred by chance in at least two different sources. However, the fact that the formula is quite long, rare, and that it does not appear in any other place in the chronicle weakens this argument considerably. The second option is to understand at least the formula and probably also some of its surrounding text as Theophanes' own additions. A hint of this appears in AM 6305, in which Theophanes narrates that Leo V "touted the walls by day and night, encouraging everyone and bidding them to be hopeful that God will soon work a miracle through the intercessions of the all-pure Theotokos and all the saints and not allow us to be altogether damned because of the multitude of *our* sins" (italic L.M.).⁸⁸ Thus, a rare reference to the Theotokos appears next to a rare first person plural – in fact, they are part of the same sentence. Moving back to the three earlier mentions of intercessions of the Theotokos, we also find, in all three cases, rare remarks in the first person plural.⁸⁹

In other words, I believe we can assume all these references belong to the same author, either Theophanes or the author of his source. The latter option here is not viable: as we have seen, nobody believes that Theophanes used a single source for the whole 80713–813 period. That Theophanes himself is the source of these references is also suggested by the proximity of the first person references to the formulaic Theotokos

45. Another reference to the Theotokos' intercession abilities is negative – Constantine rejects her assistance in drying up the Bosporus and thereby the drying, which is very different from the previous formulae and appears in the middle group of Theotokos mentions (art. 6258). This strongly suggests that it is not connected to the aforementioned four references to the Theotokos' intercessions, but rather to the work used to foil the attacking Arab's plans to invade

66. The *Cheronos* first intercedes with God to foil the attacking Arab's plans to invade Constantinople through the sea walls (p. 396, 17–18), then causes the Byzantine counter attack to succeed in sinking the enemy ships (397, 12–13).

(b) — το παλαιό νομικό και ηθικό, όπως δι' έμμεσο περιεχόμενον και πόντος, δια μέσων ενέλεγχος, η διαφύλαξιν εναντίον του του έμμεσο περιεχόμενου, αλλοιανώς, πέραν του του απροσβέτου της ποινωδότητος του έμμεσου και πόντος των έργων, και μη πόντος εναντιωμένης διαφύλαξιν εναντίον, διότι πλήθος πονηριών ηθικών (504, 1-5)

note 15013, 1–3).
 128. There are two such references for both *sm* 6:202 and *sm* 6:218. I should note again that first person plural entries are more common in Theophrastus when quoting an historical figure in direct speech, but that this is not the case here – these references are given by the author himself (whoever that is). The specific examples are “Our men took the enemy’s supplies” (15013) ... we are chastised for a short time on account of our sins” (*sm* 6:202), “the prison education that had lasted from St. Constantine the Great until our days” ... and “... after the unhappy defeat of our fellow countrymen...” (*sm* 6:218).

the same species, but with the center similar in effect to the one applied to the second species.

mentions. Although this does not mean that Theophanes wrote the whole entries for these years, it seems clear that he did add a few sentences in these specific places in the text.⁷¹

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I have examined several overlooked peculiarities of Theophanes' chronicle attempting to address the two questions of its sources from the 710s and its authorship. The latter question has two components—whether Theophanes was the main author or editor of the chronicle and to what extent he (or whoever the author was) intervened in the final compilation we have. Although none of these questions can be answered conclusively with the evidence I presented in this exploratory study, the data sheds new light on them and provides an avenue for further research.

First, we have seen, I believe, that it was Theophanes—whether the Confessor or another anonymous author to whom we may refer by this name is irrelevant for our purpose—and not George Synkellos who “wrote” the *Chronographia*. The significant amount of first person references show the author's Constantinopolitan leanings, which do not fit well with Mango's view of Synkellos as “an émigré from Palestine,” which is based on rather flimsy evidence.⁷² The difference between Theophanes and Synkellos in terms of their presence in the text is significant. Synkellos was an active narrator, who often called upon his reader using the second person, included him in the first person hortative (“let us”), and attempted to convince him about contentious points. Theophanes rarely displayed his persona to his readers and even when he did so he never addressed them directly. Another strong indication that two different individuals “wrote” these chronicles comes from the differences in the way they date events by Roman months. Overall, Synkellos used significantly less dates than Theophanes, focused more on specific dates, and used them for calculations in addition to using them in his narrative as Theophanes did. While Synkellos used 25 March as the most significant date in his worldview, this date has no significance in the *Chronographia*. Two other dates—15 August and 25 December—are more prominent in the latter work with only the latter appearing (only once) in Synkellos' chronicle.

Second, Theophanes' involvement in the chronicle seems to have changed over time. Thus, there were periods of time in which he did not change much in his source material, while in other entries he both changed his source material and added to it. The overall trend seems to be more involvement by Theophanes as the *Chronographia*'s timeline advances, but this is not a completely linear trend. For example, I believe that Theophanes added his own material at the end of the AM 6209 entry as we have seen. The last entry in the chronicle (AM 6305) has similar features. Over about six and a half pages Theophanes provides ten dates, one mention of the Theotokos' intervention in the same words as in AM 6209 and eight first person references. The basis for these claims are the details

analyzed above. In the first case, in two and a half pages Theophanes supplies three dates (including 15 August), mentions the Theotokos and her intervention twice and refers to the Byzantines in the first person plural three times. None of these appear in the parallel paragraph in Nikephoros (54). In the second case, over about six and a half pages Theophanes provides ten dates, one mention of the Theotokos and her intervention in the same words as in AM 6209, and eight first person references. This similarity is striking, as very few of the entries in the chronicle share these characteristics and none of them do so in such a manner. As it is extremely unlikely that Theophanes used the same source for both entries, almost a century apart, and did not use it for almost all the entries in between, it seems more probable that these are his additions to the chronicle.⁷³

To conclude, I placed my findings on the general chart below.⁷⁴ Although this presentation is inherently flawed for several obvious reasons—it ignores the actual text and operates on annual entries rather than their length—it has the important advantage of graphically summarizing a large amount of data from different kinds of variables. A few trends are easily discernible. For example, we notice the complete lack of textual markers in the 6222–30 interval, while the similar 6284–94 interval includes only dates. Most of the markers are absent from the period 6259–71, which has only two Theotokos mentions. Sections of the chronicle have similar concentrations of markers. Thus, the 6303–5 period seems very uniform but is different from the previous 6295–302. Likewise, the 6209–11 interval seems different from the following 6215–21 one.

Admittedly, I picked textual markers after a survey of the *Chronographia*, so that there are many alternatives which I have not examined. Further research about these markers and the intervals in which they appear could provide new evidence about Theophanes' sources and delimit the sections in which he was more active as an editor.

71. At least for AM 6209; for AM 6305 he could have composed the whole text according to his own point of view.

72. I used a binary test, pointing out only whether a certain marker occurs in a certain year entry, without regard to the number of occurrences in that year. As for the dates, I did not note the “special” ones (15 August and 25 December); see my discussion above.

73. The unusual occurrence of certain future original textual markers, and similar idiosyncrasies in the text, suggest that Theophanes may have added or modified additions or even entire sections probably written by Synkellos.

74. The chart below does not point out similarities between Synkellos' chronicle and the chronicle compiled by Theophanes, but rather a few cases that Theophanes the saint was the author of the latter chronicle. See the chart in my book, *Theophanes the Confessor*, quoted n. 100, pp. 306–37.

STYLE, STRUCTURE, AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE HYPOTHETICAL SOURCE OF THEOPHANES FOR THE REIGNS OF LEO III AND CONSTANTINE V

by Dmitry AFINOGENOV

As is well known, the *Short chronicle* of George the Monk survives in two redactions. The earlier one to my mind was composed by George himself and is only preserved in codex *Coislinianus* 305, while the second one was the work of an editor, who probably worked in the monastery of Studios in the last quarter of the 9th century. This editor considerably abridged George's endless chains of biblical quotations and other edifying passages, introduced several additional sources, namely a synoptic history of the Ecumenical Councils and the so-called *Letter of the three Oriental Patriarchs* to the emperor Theophilus; in some cases, he revised the narrative. In at least two instances (the story of St. Arsenios and the memoir on the Paulician heresy) the reviser replaced one text with another on the same subject, borrowed from a different source.¹ While the still unpublished *Coisl.* 305 stops at the reign of Constantine V (741–75), the Slavonic translation believed to depend on the early redaction extends to the reign of Michael II (820–8), suggesting that George's original text reached as far.²

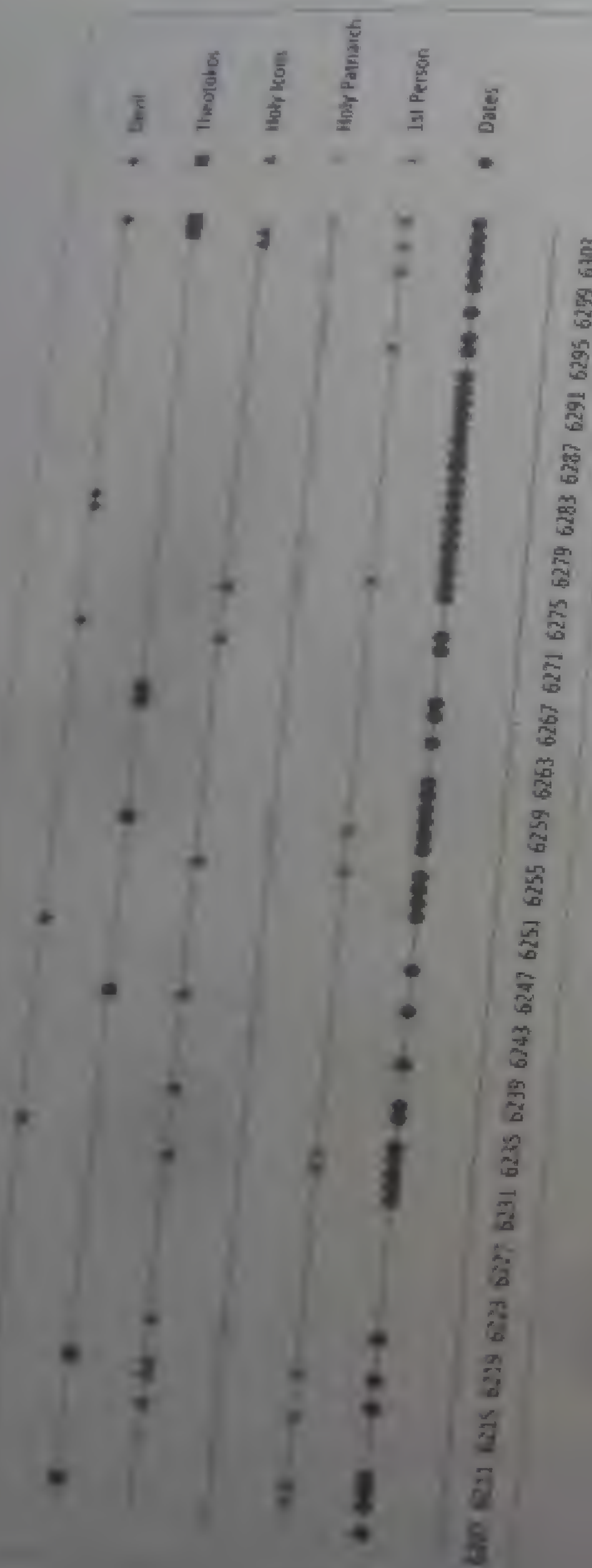
The original version of the *Short chronicle* has supplied, upon close examination, what I believe to be vital clues as to the nature of Theophanes' main source for the years 718–75.³ It is significant that George had this lost work (for which I have proposed the conventional name of **Historia Leonis et Constantini*, hereafter simply **Historia Leonis*) at his disposal and that he used it for this period, without copying Theophanes. Now, the same source was used by patriarch Nikephoros both in his historical and polemical writings (*Breviarium* and *Antirrhethens III*). In the present paper I will concentrate on whatever additional information can be gained on the literary features and possible authorship of the

1. The section on the Paulicians was also displaced from the reign of Constantine V to that of Constant II.

2. *Летопись сокращенная патриархом константинопольским и переделанная и дополненная и составленная от Георгия* (рецидвал текста) (Издание Общества любителей древней письменности 26, 56, 69). Санкт-Петербург 1878–81, a facsimile edition of one manuscript.

3. D. ARAPOGLOU, A lost 8th-century pamphlet against Leo III and Constantine V, *Byzantion* 100, 2002, pp. 1–17.

Fig. 3 – Summary chart.



William Jones. Such of the lawless? three authors who preserve bits of this last work... the juxtaposition of all the testimonies offers, in my view, a fairly clear picture of what their common source looked like.

To understand the changes introduced by Theophanes, George, and Nikephoros is to begin to see how the structure, i.e. the literary composition of their writings. The following characteristics seem to have affected the transmission of the *Historia Leonis*:

- Nikephoros, the basic prototype, in his *Strategikon*, composed ca. 775-87 as the author had led a rising up and servant, endeavored to produce a continuous literary and historical composition and style of ancient models. Whatever his literary intentions, the author's efforts resulted in a modification of the original structure and literary phrasing of the sources, including the *Historia Leonis*.
- Theophanes, in his *Chronographia*, composed 813-5, adopted an annalistic principle for his historical writing structure, especially in the case of units spanning several years. Nikephoros' comparison with George the Monk shows that the actual wording of the source is repeated with very minor changes. Theophanes also relates a large amount of additional material by the other dependants of the *Historia Leonis*.
- Nikephoros in his *Strategikon* (II part of a set of writings composed ca. 815-20) also has a similar dependence from the patriarchal chronic, simply aimed to collect fragments of history that belong to the empire during the reign of Constantine V. Nikephoros then in his *Strategikon* has then condensed into a single literary mostly composed of chronological units but occasionally ignoring time spans between events. The events would have been in the *Strategikon* are not in Theophanes, with one of them, the emperor's flight to Syracuse during the plague, preserved also by George.
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...the emperor's flight to Syracuse during the plague, preserved also by George.

all the details) have been related in the preceding chapters. It is now proper to review in more detail the lawless deeds, yet, even more sacrilegious and abhorred by God, of his most impious and altogether wretched son, yet to do so objectively (inasmuch as all-seeing God is observing us) and plainly for the benefit of posterity and of those wretched and wicked men who still follow the abominable heresy of that criminal, namely by recounting his impious actions from the 10th indiction, the first year of his reign, until the 14th indiction, the year of his damnation.⁶

This passage is found between the accounts of the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V and this is in all probability where it originally belonged. The actual foreword, if it existed—that is, unless the text began *in medias res*—is lost without a trace, but the passage above contains four crucial hints as to the structure of the text, the writer's literary aims, and the overall purpose of the *Historia Leonis*:

- Theoph., p. 413.9-10: ἐν τοῖς προλαβούσι δεδῶκεται κεφάλαιον ("have been related in the preceding chapters"). Thus the two sections of the work, dealing with the reigns of the two first Isaurian emperors, consisted of separate chapters (κεφάλαιον). There can be little doubt that each chapter focused either on a certain event (a military campaign, a natural disaster and so on) or a story with a plot and proper narrative structure. In both cases it included the indiction date.
- Theoph., p. 413.12: φιλαλήθως. The author claims to be writing in a "truth-loving" manner. This explains the rather objective reports of Leo's and Constantine's victories over the Arabs and the Bulgarians. The further implication is that the writer liked to think of his work as a historical narrative rather than a purely polemical pamphlet or invective.
- *Ibid.*, l. 13: ὁπεριτωρ ("plainly," that is, "without affectation"). The very fact that the writer was concerned with problems of style is significant, especially since it stands in contrast to Theophanes' own proem, where the topic is completely ignored. In fact, similar statements can be found in literary works of any style, from technical chancery idiom to highly sophisticated atticizing prose, but they invariably show that the author does care about proper expression. In fact, such declarations may even point to a more ornate speech. Features like the use of the archaic name Σκύθην for the Khazars (Theoph., p. 409.31, supported by George, *Cont.* 305, fol. 329) and of the word ἐπιτέμνησις for indiction (Theoph., p. 423.5) would seem to confirm that in our case.
- *Ibid.*, ll. 13-4: εἰς ἀφίλειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς νῦν πλανωμένοις ἡθελῶν καὶ ἀποσβῆσαι ἀνδραγαθῶς εἰς τὴν τοῦ πατριάρχου βίβλιν κυκλοδοῦν ("for the benefit of posterity and of those wretched and wicked men who still follow the abominable heresy of that criminal"). So objectively does not exclude didactic aims, involving polemics against Iconoclasm.

Furthermore, the writer behind the *Historia Leonis* complained about the decline of learning in the empire:

6. Theoph., ed. 629, p. 413.9-10, and *Historia*, ed. 629, p. 413.

and came along them to receive him from Christ. The climactic ceremony took place on dawn on Easter Day before a huge crowd in the hippodrome. The patriarch prayed, then proceeded to St. Sophia, accompanied, we are told, "by the two Caesars and three nobles" (namely Leo's five brothers), while the empress Irene made her way by a different route up into the gallery.

The value of the material on the war with the Caliphate in this section of the *Chronographia* (and hence of the communiqués from which it derives) may best be gauged by bringing into play the evidence of other important extant sources. Comparison is a painful way of vetting the text. It will be better, though, to put the various sources to work and to set about reconstructing history by combining information judged reliable rather than all of them. Apart from the historiographical value of such an operation, much should be gained into the history of Asia Minor in a key phase in the centuries-long *bellum saeculare* of the Byzantine state, which culminated in an invasion by a huge army led by the young Harun al-Rashid in 782.¹²

Of great value of the Arab sources, not unexpectedly, is the relevant section of the *Universal History* of al-Tabari, covering *byra* years 159–65.¹³ Al-Tabari, a giant intellectual figure in the late ninth and early tenth century, had access to a large collection of historical traditions and to written documentary sources.¹⁴ His annual entries on the early Abbasid caliphate contain notes about new appointments and caliphal acts (plainly official in character) and probably derived from Arab analogues to the communiqués used by Theophanes, and discursive narratives, more gossip and entertaining. His notices about the Byzantine war include material taken from official, documentary sources. An older Armenian contemporary, Lewond, seems to have been commissioned to plug a hole in the coverage of Armenian history between 632 and 788 by a certain Shapuh Bagratuni, whose own history ran on until 885.¹⁵ Much of Lewond's material is taken from tales of the exploits of these great families—the Bagratunis, Mamikonians and Arshrunis—and the tales were in turn provided by a list of caliphs fleshed out with notes about their dealings with Armenia. Much has mutated with time, in the course of oral transmission, but the quality improves markedly when Lewond deals

with the career of Tačar (Greek Tarzates), who played a key role in the events of 782. Useful additional material may be extracted from al-Baladhuri's historical survey of the Byzantine-Arab frontier zone, and from snippets of information in the late twelfth-century history of Michael the Syrian, patriarch of the Jacobite Church, who had access to the work of his ninth-century predecessor, Dionysius of Tel-Mahre.¹⁶

I shall present my reconstruction as succinctly as possible, in year-entries corresponding to those of Theophanes, whose dating is the most precise and reliable among the extant sources:

- 776. Leo IV and al-Mahdi headed new regimes, their fathers having died in 775. Both probably felt some need to make their mark with new initiatives.¹⁷ This may partly explain the escalation in the scale of the fighting over the period. Al-Tabari's and Theophanes' notices about 776 tally, but al-Tabari's is the more informative (am 159, p. 459.9–15). An Arab invasion force, including Khurasani officers, raided across Asia Minor as far west as Ankara. Its main achievement, noted by Theophanes (am 6268, p. 449.9–11), was to smoke out and take into captivity those who had taken refuge in one of the underground shelters previously developed by Byzantium in the open country of Cappadocia.
- 777. Al-Tabari, distracted by domestic affairs in the Caliphate and by al-Mahdi's pilgrimage to Mecca, simply notes the name (Thumama b. al-Walid al-Abi) of the general who led the summer raid (am 160, p. 477.7). Theophanes adds that he returned with a good haul of booty (am 6269, p. 451.4–5).
- 778. The war started hotting up. Leo IV seized the initiative, sending an expedition into the Arab borderlands. All five major theme commands in Asia Minor, Thrakesion, Anatolikon, Boukellarion, Armeniakon and Opsikion, were involved. The force was said to be very large (Theophanes produces the inflated figure of 100,000 men). The generals are named by Theophanes, four of Armenian origin (including Tačar, Strategos of Boukellarion), the fifth, in overall command, being Michael Lachanodrakon, a key ally of Constantine V's who had been in post in Thrakesion for many years.¹⁸ They advanced through the Anti-Taurus, and attacked Maraš (Roman Germaniceia) which commanded the northern approaches to Syria and eastern approaches to Cilicia.¹⁹ Da b. Ali, the caliph's uncle, was trapped inside. The Byzantines captured all his camels and were on the point of capturing the city, when they were bought off by gifts. At this they raided the country around, penetrating as far as Cilicia and taking many prisoners (Syrian Jacobites, who were resettled in Thrace). They returned to Germaniceia where they intercepted

12. Abū al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Yahyā ibn ʿĀṣim al-Baladhūrī, *Kitaḥ Futūḥ al-Bulāḥ*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden: Brill, 1866; *The origin of the Islamic empire being a translation from the Arabic manuscript with annotations, geography, and historic notes of the Arab Futūḥ al-Bulāḥ of al-Baladhūrī*, ed. Abū al-ʿĀṣim Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Baladhūrī, by Ph. Kh. Hitti, I, New York 1916, Mich. 570.

13. Baladhūrī & Hitti, *Byzantium in the seventh century* (quoted in 8), pp. 248–52. Cf. Krawinkel, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphate*, 2nd ed., Harlow 2004, pp. 138–9.

14. Cappadocia, its cities and names, ed. R. Boim, V. Cangelaris-Ali, Stuttgart: Roma 2002.

15. *Book 2* (S02) (Michael), 241 (Tačar).

16. F. Houtsma, *The Dawn of the Byzantine era* (Leiden 1883) with Greek text and introduction, rev. ed. and introduction, Quellen: A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzantine Studies*, I, Princeton 1925, pp. 70–7. On Maraš and the Anti-Taurus pass:

1. *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Invasionen der Araber*, München 1976, pp. 173–6. F. Vasiliev, *Russian Byzantine Studies*, 11, *die Legation des byzantinischen Botschafters in Bagdad* (München 1976), pp. 123–5. W. Fruhwirth, *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 2. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 3. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 4. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 5. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 6. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 7. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 8. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 9. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 10. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 11. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 12. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 13. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 14. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 15. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 16. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 17. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 18. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71. 19. *Die byzantinische Mission in Bagdad* (München 1978), pp. 70–71.

and defeated a relieving army sent belatedly by Thumama. Thumama was at odds
 through and had stayed put at Dabiq.

The generals celebrated their victory with a triumphal parade in Constantinople before the emperor and his son (AH 1270, pp. 451.11–452.2). Lewond (c. 37, pp. 155.16–156.9) who focuses on operations in Cilicia, may well have made use of the same source, so similar is his account, but he exaggerates the scale of the raiding and the number of prisoners taken (over 150,000). Al-Tabari (AH 161, pp. 485.19–486.2) is more accurate, (1) noting that the Byzantines attacked in great force, (2) blaming Thumama for being slow to react when intelligence reached him in the forward assembly ground around Dabiq (west of the Euphrates and north of Aleppo, close to the modern Syria-Turkey frontier), and (3) confirming that 'Isa b. 'Ali was at Maraş and that the Arabs suffered a serious reverse.

• The caliphal report came this year, taking the form of two raiding expeditions. A large army of 30,000 regular troops supplemented by *jihad* volunteers, led by Hasan b. Qaṭraba, previously mentioned as commanding the vanguard of the 776 raiding army, pushed west, without encountering resistance, besieged Dorylaion for fifteen days, failed to do so, but was then forced to withdraw for lack of supplies. A symbolic attack was made on Amorion on the march home (Theoph. AM 6271, p. 452.4–17; al-Tabari, AH 162, p. 493.6–12). A second expedition, led by Yazid b. Asid al-Sulami, governor of Armenia, moved in the north-east through the Pass of Qaliyala (Roman Theodosiopolis) which was in Arab hands. Al-Tabari (AH 162, p. 493.12–3) reports that he was very successful, capturing three fortresses and bringing back many prisoners. Lewond (c. 38, pp. 157.7–158.4), by contrast, minimises his achievements. A Byzantine counterstrike on the Anti-Taurus sector of the frontier, which razed the walls of Hadath, is also noted (al-Tabari, AH 162, p. 493.6).

Theophanes limits his coverage to Hasan's expedition to north-west Asia Minor, which
 support Diarrhachion, the most important Byzantine base on the edge of the Anatolian
 plateau. This was, without doubt, the attack which roused greatest concern at the time,
 both because of the size of the invading force and because it threatened a key part of
 its crucial military infrastructure and came within striking distance of the metropolitan
 region. Hence it was the *contingent* about this which Theophanes chose to use. It was
 certainly sufficient to explain why Hasan's advance was unopposed. The emperor, it was
 assumed, had issued orders to that effect. Theme generals were to send senior officers to
 assist and fortify the state fortified centres, and to concentrate their own efforts on
 pursuing the enemy's ability to raid and forage. Their instructions were to burn fodder

and grazing and to shadow the invading army with 3,000 strong forces of crack troops to prevent the dispatch of raiding forays. The main message of the communiqué was that this defensive strategy had worked. The Arabs had been forced to give up their attempt on Dorylaion. There is no reason for supposing that this was the first occasion on which such a strategy of defence was used. It was simply highlighted, for good political reasons, in a communiqué which happened to be issued in this year.¹⁰

Operations on other fronts, in the north-east and south-east, were presumably covered in separate communiqués, which were not used by Theophanes. Al-Tabari, who included an anecdote about Hasan in his version as well as giving the size and composition of his army, did not ignore the other two actions of the year. The governor of Armenia had been more successful, while the destruction of Hadath was a serious strategic blow. Beyond covers both Arab attacks, but he rambles, introducing gossip matter, confusing Amorion with Dorylaion as the principal target of the western expedition, and glossing the other as a failure. He was, however, aware that withdrawal to fortified centres (cities, fortresses and towers) was the principal feature in Byzantine defensive strategy and that it was ordered by the emperor. It sounds as if the gist of the communiqué on the subject reached him, but he put emphasis on the evacuation of the civilian population to strongholds rather than on the installation of garrisons.

Al-Baladhuri (p. 169.1-7) goes into more detail than al-Tabari about the composition of the invasion army—regular troops came from Khurasan, Mosul, Syria and Yemen, volunteers from Iraq and Hijaz—and the route used, but has little to say about operations. The forward area where Hasan marshalled his troops before the expedition and to which he returned afterwards was the plain of Tarsos, at the southern end of the Cilician Gates. In contrast to other invasion routes, in particular the Pass of Hadath normally used hitherto, the route through the Cilician Gates from Tarsos up on to the Anatolian plateau cuts through the Taurus, rather than climbing and crossing high passes. As the easiest and most direct route, it was used by the principal road linking Asia Minor to Syria in antiquity.¹⁹ In the early Middle Ages, at a time of war, with hostile powers established on either side of the mountains, it was militarily attractive, since it debouched into southern Cappadocia, closer to the Pisidian lake region, the western fringe of the plateau and the Aegean coastlands than the normal Anti-Taurus route. But it was also fraught with danger, providing several opportunities to trap and ambush an army on the march. Hasan's main achievement in 779 was probably his opening up of this new invasion route. In order to make future use of it, he recommended, on his return to the caliphal court, that the ruined site of ancient Tarsos, which he had inspected, should be fortified and garrisoned. It was, however, another recommendation of his, made a year earlier in the wake of the Byzantine attack on Maraş, which al-Mahdi took up immediately—the rebuilding of Hadath (al-Baladhuri, p. 190.5-14). These two projects mark the beginning of an ambitious programme to build a set of large, forward bases in the borderlands, which carried on through the reign of Harun al-Rashid.

18. Cf. M. Winrow, *The making of orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025*, London 1990s, p. 171.

19. HUBICHMANN, *Outgrenze*, pp. 42-3, 82-3; P. HILD & M. RUSTLE, *Kappadokien (Kappadokien, Charsianon, Schotrin und Lykandos)* (HB 2), Wien 1981, pp. 263-4.

and heavy divisions for use, although in reality rates of pay would have varied between divisions and of course, between officers and men, and between cavalry and infantry. Many soldiers would have been required to transport this sum, before the initial wave of loot, presumably by Harun, on his arrival in Cilicia. What was retained for distribution was not so much as was kept under heavy guard in Cilicia, awaiting the army's return.

The open country beyond the Cilician Gates was bounded to the north by a range of hills, where later the Byzantines were to build the fortress of Lousan to watch over the pass to the west from the Taurus by valleys which offered easy routes north to Kars and Cappadocia and west past Herakleia to Lycania. The great host evidently was the second main force Harun's new appearance in al-Tabari's account, is far away from the main scene, near Nikomedia. But before undertaking the long march across the open country of the plain, he took the precaution of securing his rear from counter-attack. He made the mouth of the valley running north, was captured, thereby giving the Arabs command of the road to the Cilician Gates (AH 165, p. 503.19).²¹ The troops stationed at Mardin alone certainly a substantial force capable of conducting independent operations, were probably assigned the task not only of preventing any Byzantine move to cut Harun's line of retreat but also of deterring the armies of Amurath and Armanush from intervening in the west. Were they to do so, they would be the target of being trapped between powerful Arab armies and destroyed in a pincer attack. This would help to explain the otherwise puzzling silence about any role played by the slave armies of eastern Asia Minor in the operations which took place here at the time. They appear to have been neutralised by a simple act of great strategic significance.

Thophar, now taken over as our principal source and makes it plain that the Arabs were engaged in a large, and possibly gathering expedition unprecedented in its extent (AH 165, p. 504.2-3). After crossing the Anatolian plateau without mishap, they arrived at the head region of the Taurus headwaters. There the army split into three independent corps. Al-Jahs, who was probably responsible for overall strategy, took charge of the corps which would go, controlling the north-west segment of the Anatolian plateau and the hilly country. He had the vital task of securing the rear of the other two corps. He moved his own by being close to Nikosia, and way between Amorion and Tarsus. A second corps under the command of Yahya b. Khalid b. Barma, reported to al-Jahs, moved south, and the Taurus headwaters. Harun advanced north-west with the third corps, through Kars to Chrysopolis on the Bosporus. Al-Tabari (AH 165, p. 504.1) adds that the corps of management was fought with the army of Opsikion, in the course of which battle the general in command, was seriously wounded, and that a great battle was fought at the headwaters.

Harun was not alone in devising a brilliant counter-plan (Thophar, AH 165, p. 504.12-13). They were almost all corps. The army of Opsikion had been forced under the terms of the truce to the headwaters. The army of Opsikion had been forced under the terms of the truce to the headwaters.

of Anatolikon and Armeniakon, as we have seen, probably could not be brought into play. In any case, the theme armies had been weakened that year by the seconding of troops for service on a fleet sent to put down a rebellion in Sicily. The imperial government was left with the *tagmata* (guards regiments) stationed in the metropolitan region, and the army of Boukellarion commanded by Ta'at. Ta'at was shadowing Harun's corps, since he was close enough later to communicate directly with Harun. The *tagmata*, under the senior commander, Antony Domestic of the Scholai, were dispatched by sea to seize and hold the plain of Nikomedia and Lake Bane (modern Sapanca) to the east, together with the difficult routes through the mountains to the south.²² The amphibious capability developed by Constantine V in his Bulgar war was being put to good use in another theatre.

The operation went well. The Domestic Antony took up a forward position at Nikomedia, but withdrew (south) at the approach of the Arab vanguard, under the command of Yazid b. Mazid (previously responsible for the defeat of the Opsikion troops). This is a second isolated piece of information provided by al-Tabari (AH 165, p. 504.1-2). Harun's corps could then establish itself in the open country in the hinterland of the strongly fortified city. But it was trapped. The guards regiments, greatly outnumbered though they were, controlled the mountains to the south and there was no prospect of the Arabs' fighting their way through. It was a triumph for Byzantium. A campaign intended to lift caliphal prestige looked likely to inflict a devastating blow. Harun would have to open negotiations. The terms for his release would be tough, probably humiliating.

The region where the trap had been sprung was relatively well supplied with grazing and forage. The plain of Nikomedia stretched many kilometres to the east along the shores of Lake Bane. Time had therefore been created for talks. The Arabs would not be forced into launching desperate and doomed efforts to break out. It is at this stage that al-Tabari comes back in stream and that Lewond casts light on proceedings from the point of view of Ta'at. Al-Tabari (AH 165, p. 504.8-12) was clearly well aware that things had gone wrong for Harun. He refers to the difficult country from where he was conducting negotiations and to his fear for his men. But he masked the true position by having the Byzantines take the initiative and approach Harun with peace proposals. Lewond (L. 39, p. 158.13-8), by contrast, is quite frank about the Arabs' position. They were in the grip of a Byzantine blockade. Aware of this—his troops were probably in the mountains to the east of the lower Sangarios—Ta'at seized the opportunity to spite Irene's regime, with which he was at odds, and to return to the Caliphate which he had left over twenty years earlier to become one of Constantine V's most trusted generals. He made contact with the Arabs and offered them a deal: he would help them escape, if he were welcomed back in the Caliphate. Harun agreed, and, acting for the caliph, provided the written guarantee requested by Ta'at (Lewond, c. 39, p. 158.19-159.17).

The military position did not change when Ta'at went to Harun's camp. But he was able to give advice of great importance, as well as useful political information. The advice was that Harun should open negotiations, and send emissaries to Irene. She would then respond, as she did, by sending a delegation of high-ranking office-holders. In the

²¹ This is the only source which mentions the capture of the Cilician Gates. AH 165, p. 503.19.

²² Antony, *Prok.* #531. Lake Bane and routes: *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. par B. Geyer & J. Lohm, Paris, 2003, pp. 25 & 38 (Geyer), 163-4 (Lohm).

men, there were three of them—Saurakios, Patrician and Logothete of the Dromas (in charge of foreign affairs and the most powerful man in the government), the Magistros (all diplomatic matters and which was the crucial piece of advice given by Ta'at, Harun's ambassador), and the Domestic of the Scholai Antony.²¹ Then, by a single act, which flowed from all three, Harun's balance of diplomatic power shifted back to the Arabs. The Byzantine government was not going to surrender three such key figures to maintain its military stranglehold over Harun's corps, threatening the hostages but by beginning to execute batches of other Byzantines not just by hands. There is a chilling sentence in al-Tabari's account about his putting to death two thousand and ninety prisoners of war (AH 165, p. 505.4).

The outcome was capitulation on the part of Irene's regime and acceptance of an armistice on Harun's terms (Theoph. AM 6274, p. 456.19–23; al-Tabari, AH 165–6, pp. 504.12–505.11, 505.21–506.1; Lewond, c. 39, p. 159.18–20). The blockade would be lifted. Harun's corps would be allowed to march south-east, to the comparative safety of the Anatolian plateau and the company of the other two corps. The Byzantine government agreed to provide supplies for the Arabs while they were on Byzantine territory (so that there would be no need for foraging). Markets would be established along the line of march—towns which the commissariat could procure what was needed. Harun made several other demands, primarily to secure tangible gains which could be displayed on his return. It would thus be possible to present the expedition, as it is presented in al-Tabari's version, as a military success and to use the success to burnish Harun's reputation. Irene's government immediately made a large monetary payment to ransom the prisoners of war who had not been killed. The Arabs were allowed to keep the booty which they had already taken. There was no question of payment of reparations or demand done. The armistice was to last for three years. The Byzantines would be making substantial annual payments, in cash (64,000 solidi plus 2,500 dinars) and land (10,000 camel and goat wool, presumably from Angora goats).²²

Harun began his withdrawal on 27 September. Al-Tabari, who has tampered with the text of the original, placing the headquarters with the Domestic before rather than after the march to Chrysopolis, has him leave Chrysopolis rather than the plain of Nikomedia. The siege of Nakoleia was lifted. Ta'at's corps was allowed to join him and to bring all his chattels. The return march passed off without incident. Peace was to reign on the Byzantine-Arab frontier throughout 783.

The prominent later Byzantine historian of the 11th century, Michael Psellos, was not taken in by the account of the 782 crisis. His history, written in the 1080s, is a good example of the way in which the account of the 782 crisis was handled in the twelfth century, based on the account of the 782 crisis.

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on the trap sprung by the Byzantines and the great distress which it caused to the Arabs. Caught between mountains and sea, near the Sangarios river, they had to sue for peace, which Irene granted. The actions of the two other corps are reported. He only strays away from the truth in having the corps besieging Nakoleia cut to pieces.

Of the three earlier accounts of the 782 crisis, Theophanes' stands out by virtue of its lucidity, its attention to overall strategy and the details provided about persons and places. Its chief deficiency concerns time. We have to turn to al-Tabari for the date of Harun's departure from Baghdad, which enables us to place the start of the campaign roughly a month and a half later (towards the end of March), and for the date when he could at last extricate his corps from the Byzantine trap (2nd September). We thus learn that the outward march, the main phase of operations by all three corps, and the negotiations lasted five months. Many weeks, it seems, passed by before a solution was found to the impasse created by the seizure of the hostages. Lewond, like Michael the Syrian, appreciates that the Arabs were trapped, but probably exaggerates the effects of the blockade. He has starvation force them to negotiate. His chief contribution is biographical, sketching Ta'at's past career, noting that he fell out of favour after the deaths of Constantine V and Leo IV, making it plain that he expected to be treated well if he changed sides and that he duly received a sworn undertaking to this effect, and finally going on to describe his later appointment to the governorship of Armenia and the opposition which he encountered.

When Theophanes' version of what happened in 782 is compared to those of the other sources, it emerges as the most sober, with the best overall understanding both of military operations and political negotiations. The same is true of his notices on the campaigns which led up to the great invasion. Year after year, it is from Theophanes that we can best gain a sense of the strategies pursued by both sides. This is particularly true of his accounts of the 778 Byzantine offensive stroke aimed at Maras, of the first campaign involving Harun in 780 when it is only Theophanes who reports the sweeping westward foray of a large raiding army, designed to mask Harun's siege of Semalouos, and, as we have just seen, of the grandest of all these Arab offensives in 782.

It is not, however, the military and political acumen of Theophanes which should be credited with this high-quality history. As has been argued above, he (or George Synkellos, if his account of his own times went back this far) was almost certainly making use of official communiqués, issued soon after the events for a large official readership in the apparatus of government and the church across the Byzantine empire. Such bulletins had to be accurate in what they reported, given that the readership, lay and clerical, would have independent sources of information (news would be percolating out by word of mouth) and would be able to detect fictions or serious distortion. It was with respect to what was omitted or carefully glossed that they need to be handled with care. In the case of the 782 crisis, they skirted over the execution of Byzantine prisoners-of-war, presumably in the interest of maintaining good relations with the Caliphate for the duration of the armistice. The news doubtless leaked out and spread rapidly by word of mouth, but there was no official, publicly disseminated account of the horrific act. A gloss (AM 6274, p. 456.16–8), probably an integral part of the original document, rather than an addition of Theophanes', may have been included for a similar reason—to avoid

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